

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA



**REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE
OF PARLIAMENT ON OFFICIAL
LANGUAGE**



1958

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REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT ON OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Article 344(1) of the Constitution provides that the President shall at the expiration of five years from the commencement of this Constitution and thereafter at the expiration of ten years from such commencement, by order constitute a Commission which shall consist of a Chairman and such other members representing the different languages specified in the Eighth Schedule as the President may appoint, and the order shall define the procedure to be followed by the Commission. It has been laid down in clause (2) of the same article that "it shall be the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President as to—

Provisions of article 344 relating to constitution and duties of the Official Language Commission.

- (a) the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union;
- (b) restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union;
- (c) the language to be used for all or any of the purposes mentioned in article 348;
- (d) the form of numerals to be used for any one or more specified purposes of the Union;
- (e) any other matter referred to the Commission by the President as regards the official language of the Union and the language for communication between the Union and a State or between one State and another and their use."

2. A Commission consisting of the late Shri B. G. Kher as Chairman and 20 other members representing the different languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule was accordingly appointed by the President on 7th June 1955. A copy of the notification giving the names of members and terms of reference of the Commission, and defining the procedure to be followed by it has been furnished in annexure I. It will be found that sub-clauses (a) to (d) of clause (2) to which a reference has been made above have been reproduced in the terms of reference. In regard to sub-clause (e) of clause (2), it was specified that the Commission will make recommendations as to the preparation of a time-schedule according to which and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language of the Union and as a language for communication between the Union and State Governments and between one State and another. The Commission was left free to regulate its own procedure.

Appointment of the Commission — Terms of reference — procedure.

Submission
of Com-
mission's
Report.

3. The Commission issued a questionnaire which was widely distributed, and elicited 1,094 written replies or memoranda, including replies from Governments of all Parts A and B States, the Supreme Court, High Courts, the Union and State Public Service Commissions, universities and literary and educational societies etc. They also examined 930 individuals and representatives of different organisations. The Commission submitted their report to the President, and printed copies of the report were subsequently placed on the table of both Houses of Parliament on 12th August, 1957.

Committee
of Parlia-
ment on
Official
Language—
constitutional
provisions—
election of
members.

4. It is provided in clause (4) of article 344 that there shall be constituted a Committee consisting of 30 members of whom 20 shall be members of the Lok Sabha and 10 shall be members of the Rajya Sabha to be elected respectively by the two Houses in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote. Clause (5) lays down that it shall be the duty of the Committee to examine the recommendations of the Commission and to report to the President their opinion thereon. Accordingly, on a motion moved by the Minister for Home Affairs on 3rd September, 1957, the following were elected as members of the Committee:—

Rajya Sabha

(election held on 11-9-57).

Shri Govind Ballabh Pant
Shri Purushottam Das Tandon
Shri K. P. Madhavan Nair
Shri Alluri Satyanarayana Raju
Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira
Sardar Budh Singh
Shri Bhagirathi Mahapatra
Dr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar
Shri Perath Narayanan Nair
Shri Prafulla Chandra Bhanj Deo.

Lok Sabha

(election held on 13-9-57).

Seth Govind Das
Shri P. T. Thanu Pillai
Swami Ramananda Tirtha
Shri B. S. Murthy
Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava
Shri Hifzur Rahman
Shri B. Bhagavati
Shri U. Srinivasa Malliah
Shri Frank Anthony
Shri Mathura Prasad Mishra

Shri Manikya Lal Varma
 Shri Bhakt Darshan
 Shri Shripad Amrit Dange
 Shri Harish Chandra Sharma
 Kumari Maniben Vallabhbhai Patel
 Shri G. S. Musafir
 Shri Atulya Ghosh
 Shri Deorao Yeshwantrao Gohokar
 Shri Hirendra Nath Mukerjee
 Shri Pramathanath Banerjee.

Two members, namely Shri G. B. Pant and Sardar Budh Singh ceased to be the members of the Committee on the expiry of their term as members of the Rajya Sabha on 2nd April, 1958, but they were re-elected to the Rajya Sabha with immediate effect and later re-elected as members of this Committee.

5. At the first meeting of the Committee held on 16th November, 1957, Shri Govind Ballabh Pant was unanimously elected as the Chairman of the Committee. A Rules Sub-Committee consisting of Dr. A. Ramaswami Mudaliar, Shri Frank Anthony, Dr. Raghu Vira, Shri S. A. Dange, Pandit Thakur Das Bhargava and Shri Srinivasa Malliah was appointed to frame rules of procedure and conduct of business in the Committee. The rules of procedure and conduct of business adopted by the Committee have been reproduced in annexure II.

Election of
 Chairman—
 Procedure
 and Rules
 of Business.

6. The Official Language Commission took the view that the language problem of the country had its ramifications in numerous fields of national activity and endeavour, and individual issues could not be considered in isolation. They, therefore, allowed their enquiries to extend over a larger field than that strictly covered by the terms of reference. In the 'Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations' printed as appendix I to their report findings on matters not covered by the terms of reference have, therefore, been recorded by them as 'Conclusions' as distinguished from the "recommendations" relating to the terms of reference. It has already been mentioned that the subjects on which the Commission had to make recommendations are specified in the Constitution itself which lays down that "it shall be the duty of the Committee to examine the recommendations of the Commission and to report to the President their opinion thereon". In view of these mandatory provisions, the Committee felt that it should confine itself to the examination of the 'recommendations' only, but that if there was anything in the 'conclusions' that had a direct bearing on any of the recommendations, it might be considered. However, it was eventually not found necessary to express any opinions

Recommendations and
 Conclusions of the Commission—
 Scope of Committee's
 duty.

on the conclusions and the Committee has accordingly recorded its opinion on the recommendations only.

Meetings of the Committee—method of work adopted—general discussion—detailed examination of recommendations.

7. The Committee held 26 meetings. A statement giving dates of the meetings held and the number of members present at each meeting is appended—(annexure III).

The recommendations of the Commission cover a large field and involve consideration of issues which are not only of great importance to the future of our country but also complex. The Committee felt, therefore, that it would be desirable to have a general discussion first, so as to have a clear understanding of the principal issues involved. Almost all the members participated in this discussion which revealed that, despite differences in matters of detail and in emphasis on certain aspects of the question, there was general agreement as regards the objectives and the approach to the problem. After this, the recommendations were taken up one by one or in groups, as convenient.

Materials used—acknowledgments.

8. The Committee was fortunate in having at its disposal not only the wealth of material on different aspects of the official language question which is contained in the Commission's Report and supplementary papers (unpublished), but also the evidence, written and oral, received by the Commission from various sources. The Committee had before it the Madras Government's well-reasoned memorandum on the Report of the Official Language Commission as also the proceedings of debates in this connection in both Houses of the Madras legislature. The Committee also received copies of the proceedings of recent debates in the two Houses of the West Bengal legislature on the official language question, besides a large number of memoranda, resolutions and letters from various organisations and individuals.

Plan of the Report.

9. The Committee's general approach to the official language question along with the relevant provisions of the Constitution have been set out in Chapter II. Chapter III presents in narrative form the Committee's opinion on the various matters covered by the Commission's recommendations, and also furnishes a statement giving the recommendations of the Commission in the order in which they appear in the report together with the Committee's opinions thereon.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM

10. The provisions relating to official language are contained in Part XVII of the Constitution.

Constitutional provisions relating to official language—
Official Language of the Union.

Clause (1) of article 343 lays down that the official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script, and the form of numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union shall be the international form of Indian numerals. Under clause (2), however, English is to continue in use for a period of 15 years from the commencement of the Constitution for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used before, but the President may during this period by order authorise the use of the Hindi language in addition to the English language and of the Devanagari numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals for any of the official purposes of the Union. Under clause (3), authority is given to Parliament to provide by law for the use of the English language or the Devanagari form of numerals after the period of 15 years from the commencement of the Constitution (i.e. beyond January 1965) for such purposes as may be specified in the law.

Article 344 provides, as was mentioned earlier, for the constitution of a Commission to make recommendations, among other things, for the progressive use of Hindi and for the imposition of restrictions on the use of English, and of a Committee of Parliament to examine these recommendations. Under clause (6) of article 344, the President may, after consideration of the report of the Committee, issue directions in accordance with the whole or any part of the report notwithstanding anything in article 343.

11. Article 345 empowers the Legislature of a State to adopt by law any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State. Until the Legislature of the State otherwise provides by law, the English language is to continue to be used for the official purposes of the State for which it was used before the commencement of the Constitution. Under article 347, on a demand being made in that behalf, the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognised by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognised throughout that State or any part thereof for such purposes as he may specify.

Official Language of the States

Language of communication between the States and the Union and between one State and another.

Under article 346, the language for the time being authorised for use in the Union for official purposes shall be the official language for communication between one State and another and between a State and the Union. Two or more States may, however, by agreement use the Hindi language for communication between such States.

Language of Legislation and High Courts.

12. Article 348 prescribes that until Parliament by law otherwise provides, all proceedings in the Supreme Court and in every High Court and the authoritative texts of all legislation shall be in the English language. With the previous consent of the President, however, the official language of the State or Hindi may be used in proceedings in the High Court of the State except for judgments, decrees and orders for which English is to be used. It is also open to the Legislature of a State to prescribe any language other than the English language for use in Bills or Acts, etc. subject to publication in the Official Gazette of a translation in English which shall be deemed to be the authoritative text thereof in the English language.

Under Article 349, until 1965 no Bill or amendment modifying the above provisions can be introduced or moved in either House of Parliament without the previous sanction of the President who may give such sanction only after he has taken into consideration the recommendations of the Official Language Commission and the report of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language.

Special directives.

13. Article 350 entitles every person to submit a representation to any officer or authority of the Union or State in any of the languages used in the Union or the State, as the case may be. Article 350-A lays down that it shall be the endeavour of every State and local authority to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother-tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups.

Article 351 makes it the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, and to develop it as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India.

Salient features of the constitutional settlement.

14. Attention may be drawn to the following salient features of the constitutional settlement:

First, English is to be replaced by Hindi only for the official purposes of the Union and as the language of inter-communication between the States and the Union and between one State and another. The State Legislature has the authority to adopt by law any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the official language or languages of the State.

Second, the Constitution clearly envisages that Hindi will be introduced as the official language by gradual

stages, the first stage being the use of Hindi in addition to English for such purposes as may be specified by the President by order. In the next stage, restrictions may be imposed on the use of English, and Hindi used progressively for the official purposes of the Union in replacement of English. During the period of 15 years from the commencement of the Constitution, that is before 1965, such restrictions can be imposed only after an examination of the problem by an Official Language Commission and a Committee of both Houses of Parliament. And in determining the pace of change, due regard has to be paid to industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India, and the just claims and interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi areas in regard to the public services.

Third, while it has been provided that Hindi shall become the official language of the Union by 1965, the possibility of the need for continuance of English beyond this date has been foreseen and Parliament has been given authority to provide by law for such continuance for such purposes as may be specified in the law.

Fourth, considering the complexities of the problem of change-over from English to Hindi and other national languages for purposes of legal enactments and in the higher courts, no date-line has been indicated for the change-over in these fields. As a further safeguard it has been provided that until 1965, no bill can be introduced in Parliament for amendment of these provisions except with the previous sanction of the President, and the President can give such sanction only after he has taken into consideration the recommendations of the Commission and the Report of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language.

Fifth, every person is entitled to submit a representation for the redress of his grievance to the Union or State authorities in any of the languages in use in the Union or the State, as the case may be; and every State and every local authority is directed* to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother-tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups.

Sixth, the Union is charged with the duty to promote the spread of the Hindi language, and to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India.

15. The constitutional settlement outlined in the foregoing paragraphs is an integrated and comprehensive scheme. It was evolved after careful consideration in the Constituent Assembly and was adopted without a division

The Constitutional settlement—an integrated scheme.

*Inserted by Section 21 of the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act, 1956.

as representing the greatest common measure of agreement among the different linguistic groups in the country. It provides for the use of Hindi as well as of other national languages for official purposes. The procedure laid down for bringing about progressive changeover from English to Hindi as the Union official language provides for a good deal of flexibility and has been framed with due regard to all interests. Certain steps have already been taken in the States and at the Centre in pursuance of these provisions. After considering all aspects of the problem, the Committee is of the definite opinion that adherence to this settlement is the only safe and practicable course to adopt.

Need for replacing English by Hindi and other Indian languages.

16. The constitutional settlement envisages that the use of English for official purposes has to be discontinued in due course. A democratic Government cannot continue to function indefinitely in a language which is understood by only a small fraction of the population. In a country like ours which is committed to the objectives of a welfare State and a socialist pattern of society, the Union and State Governments are concerned with practically all aspects of the life of the citizen and the adoption of a language medium which might be more widely understood by the people is necessary for the efficient discharge of governmental functions. Official work will, therefore, have to be transacted in the linguistic media most widely understood by the people. In the States, the regional languages should assume their rightful place in lieu of English and one of the Indian languages should similarly serve as the official language of the Union and as a medium of inter-State intercourse. Hindi is not only the mother-tongue of a substantial part of the population but is also commonly understood over large parts of the country where the regional language is different. Colloquial Hindi is generally understood in almost all places of pilgrimage and market places. The spread of Hindi outside the areas where it is regarded as the mother-tongue has been a long historical process which has been aided in modern times by the forces of the national movement. Further spread of Hindi knowledge is being facilitated by developments in transport, commerce and the media of mass communication such as the radio and the cinema, as also by its inclusion in the curricula of schools and colleges in Hindi as well as in non-Hindi areas. There is a close and intimate relationship, a kinship formed by a common cultural tradition and other factors, between the various Indian languages. And, Hindi whether we consider its vocabulary and diction or its alphabetical system or script is much more akin to the other Indian languages than English. This is indeed an advantage that no foreign language can claim, and it makes it comparatively easy for people in non-Hindi areas to learn Hindi.

17. Since the advent of Independence there has been a shift from English to Indian languages as the media of secondary education throughout the country. Some of the universities have also adopted Hindi and other Indian languages as media of instruction. There are obvious advantages from the educational point of view in the adoption of the mother language or the regional language as the medium of instruction. It follows that the young generation that is coming up will have much less knowledge of English than was the case until recently.

Practical reasons why English cannot continue indefinitely—Considerations of national pride and dignity.

The Committee notes that seven States have already adopted different regional languages as their official languages in place of English. The trend of public opinion in the country makes it highly probable that the remaining States will soon follow suit. With the decline in standards of English knowledge that has taken place over the last ten years there is already some difficulty in finding recruits for the public services who can discharge their duties efficiently through the English medium. This difficulty will become greatly accentuated after some time when the process of change-over from English to Indian language media in the educational field and in State administrations has reached a further stage of development.

It may also be pointed out that as different regional languages progressively replace English in the Official work of the States and in schools and colleges, English which has served as the main link between the different linguistic regions of the country would no longer be in a position to discharge this function adequately.

The replacement of English by Hindi and other Indian languages is thus a practical necessity. But sentiment also has its importance and value in individual and in national life for it provides the motivation for effort. English has, it is true, in the recent past provided a common language for inter-provincial intercourse and all-India affairs, and has its conveniences in certain respects but the introduction of a widely understood Indian language in place of English as the language of inter-communication between the Union and the States and the Union official language would be more in consonance with national sentiment. A common Indian linguistic medium is bound to bring the different linguistic groups in India closer together because our traditions, culture, and civilization are the same. India with its distinctive past and culture cannot continue long to function through a foreign medium.

In the light of these considerations, the Committee has reached the conclusion that while it would be inadvisable to seek to accelerate the pace of introduction of Hindi as the Union official language beyond what the objective conditions can sustain, it would be as undesirable not to

take in hand adequate and effective measures so that Hindi and the other national languages in their appropriate spheres may, by natural transition, replace English without a vacuum being allowed to supervene.

Hindi and other Indian national languages capable of replacing English for official purposes.

18. It has sometimes been urged that Hindi and other Indian languages are not sufficiently developed to serve as official languages in place of English. It is hardly necessary to state that these languages were used in the past for all official purposes in the country, and they have continued to be in use throughout for administrative work at the village, tehsil, and, to some extent, also district levels. In some of the former princely States, Indian languages were in use for all official purposes until recently. It cannot be said that these languages are inherently not capable of being used in higher administration. Their present deficiencies for the requirements of higher administration are due chiefly to the fact that for over a hundred years English has been the official language both at the Centre and in the States, as also the medium of higher education, and they fell into disuse for these purposes. A language grows by usage; the range of its conceptual content and terminology is broadened through assimilation and adaptation when it has continuously to meet the test of new concepts, ideas and modes of thought and action. The deficiencies from which Hindi and other languages suffer at present can therefore be removed only by bringing them into actual use for purposes of State and Union administration, and in other fields of national endeavour.

Development of Hindi as the medium of expression of India's composite culture.

19. The Committee attaches considerable importance to the directive of article 351 that Hindi should be so developed that it may serve as the medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India. It is specifically laid down that Hindi should assimilate within itself the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule and draw for its vocabulary wherever necessary or desirable on Sanskrit as also other languages. In the course of a long period of evolution, Hindi has admitted into its fold a great many words not only from Sanskrit and other Indian languages and dialects, but also from Persian, Arabic, and English; and its grammatical structure too has been influenced by contact with other languages. English, and indeed all the great languages of the world, have similarly absorbed a large number of words and concepts originating in other languages. India is a multi-lingual country, and it is obvious that if Hindi is to function as an effective medium of inter-provincial intercourse and a link binding the peoples of different linguistic regions in the country it cannot afford to stand apart and isolate itself. In recent years, the use of difficult expressions has, to some extent, come in the way of the

spread of Hindi and its increased use for different purposes. It is realised that in dealing with rather complex ideas, language tends to become complex also, but some of the best writers in all languages use simple forms, and one test of a good word or phrase is that it is understood by most people. The merit of Hindi as the official language of the Union and the language of inter-State communication lies in its easy intelligibility and wide vogue in the country; and, all the arguments that make it incumbent on us to use an Indian language as the official language of the country apply to that language being, as far as possible, the language of the common people. It is important, therefore, that Hindi should not lose its contact with the masses, and every encouragement should be given to the use of easy and simple diction.

20. The question of conflict between Hindi and other national languages does not arise. India has a composite culture and it is but appropriate that its variety should find expression through the languages which are in use in different regions, and its fundamental unity should be reflected in a common language for all-India purposes and inter-State communications. With the displacement of the English language from the position it has occupied in the educational system as the medium of instruction and in the administrative sphere for over a hundred years, Hindi and other Indian languages will have full play in all fields. This will facilitate the development of all of them. Moreover, through the process of contact and assimilation the development of one language will also help in the development and enrichment of others.

No conflict between Hindi and other national languages.

21. The gradual replacement of English in official work by Hindi and the regional languages does not mean severance of our ties with English. The special place which it must continue to have in the intellectual and scientific fields, and as a means of international contacts is not conditional upon the perpetuation of the existing arrangement. We live in an age of rapid scientific advancement and technological change. The development of science and technology may take place at an ever faster pace in future, and these subjects will play an increasingly dominant part in our national life. The output of literature in these subjects is tremendous, and it may not be possible to translate all important works or articles that are published. Advanced students of science and technology have to be familiar with one or more foreign languages. English has not only a rich literature which is intimately connected with the whole body of Western thought and culture but is, at present the most important vehicle of scientific and technical information. It is also the most widespread language in the world today. For us, amongst foreign languages, the choice of English is obvious, both because of its importance and utility and our present knowledge

Special place of English in certain spheres.

of it. Thus, although English cannot continue to be the medium of instruction in schools and colleges or the official language of the Union or the States in India for long, it will still continue to be of great help to us, and remain an important subject of study, specially for those engaged in advanced scientific work.

The number of scientific and technical terms already runs into lakhs. Thousands of new words are being coined every year. Our scientists and technologists are familiar with English terms. The task of translating the existing and future scientific and technical terms into all Indian languages is immense, and the risk that such translations may be artificial or inexact, and unfamiliar to present-day scientists and technologists has to be guarded against. Different terminologies in different Indian languages may cause confusion and will make the interchange of scientific and technical knowledge within the country difficult. It is obviously desirable that there should be uniformity in the use of scientific and technical terminology in all Indian languages. The Radhakrishnan Commission on University Education, which also considered this question, has observed as follows:—

“The discussion of the general question of loan words inevitably leads us to the special problem of technical terms, especially of natural sciences. This problem is common to all modern Provincial languages and if a common solution can be found for all of them not only will it mean great economy of effort but also a long step in the direction of bringing the provincial languages nearer each other.”

The Committee envisages that the scientific and technical terms used in Hindi and other Indian national languages will approximate closely to English or international terms for the terminology used by us should be such as would facilitate the development of science and technology in India and also enable us to keep in contact with the international world of science and technology. It is important that the evolution of scientific and technical terminology should proceed on the right lines from the beginning. It would be desirable, for this purpose, to have a Standing Commission consisting chiefly of scientists and technologists to co-ordinate and supervise the work done by various agencies in this field, review the work that has already been done and issue authoritative glossaries of scientific and technical terminology for use in all Indian languages.

Manner in which change-over should be brought about.

22. While recognising the need and inevitability of the replacement of English by Hindi and the regional languages for official purposes, careful thought has to be given to the manner in which the change-over is to be brought about.

The official work of the Union covers a wide range of subjects, and is transacted at different levels of hierarchy by persons who are drawn from different language groups and have necessarily varying linguistic abilities; and in its public aspect and relation to the States, it is concerned individually and collectively with the different linguistic areas in the country. The problem of introducing a new official language in the Union is, therefore, different in its nature and dimensions from that of a State adopting a new language for its official purposes. The process of change-over from English to Hindi as the Union official language has to be so developed and regulated that it may be effected without causing any dislocation and with the minimum of inconvenience, and in determining the pace at which changes should be brought about, consideration has to be given, among other things, to the progress of Hindi in non-Hindi areas, and the linguistic capacity of existing government servants. The process of change-over should also not have the effect of placing any linguistic groups at a disadvantage in the matter of recruitment to the public services.

23. In the first phase, Hindi has to be used in addition to English, and preparatory measures taken which will set the position for the next phase when the discontinuance of English for different official purposes may be brought about progressively. The date for the final changeover from English to Hindi will mark the point of culmination in this process rather than a new stage. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as a deadline, and the approach to this question has to be flexible and practical. The Committee considers that until 1965, English should be the principal official language of the Union and Hindi the subsidiary official language; and from 1965 when Hindi becomes the principal official language, English should be used as a subsidiary official language for purposes to be specified by Parliament by law in due course for as long as may be necessary.

Complete change-over to Hindi by 1965 not practicable.

24. While the change-over is to be effected by gradual and orderly stages, it is important that there should be no relaxation of effort in carrying out preparatory measures for facilitating the change-over. The practical difficulties that are bound to arise can be surmounted if effort is directed along a well thought-out programme of work. The Committee expresses the hope that the opinions expressed by it on the Commission's recommendations would provide the basic foundations for such a programme.

Need for a plan of work.

CHAPTER III

OPINION OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMISSION

Scope of the Chapter. 25. Part I of this chapter presents a narrative survey of the main recommendations of the Commission under each term of reference and may be read in conjunction with Part II which furnishes a complete list of the recommendations of the Commission in the order in which they appear in the report together with the Committee's opinions thereon.

PART I

SECTION I

Progressive use of Hindi for the Official purposes of the Union

Preparatory measures to lay the ground-work for the change-over. 26. The Commission consider that the following preparatory measures have to be taken to lay the ground-work for the change-over in the language of administration:—

- (i) Preparation and standardisation of the necessary special terminology used in the administrative field;
- (ii) Translation into Hindi of official publications embodying rules, regulations, manuals and other procedural literature;
- (iii) Development and furnishing of mechanical and service aids in Hindi; and
- (iv) Training of administrative personnel of different categories in Hindi.

Terminology. 27. After a careful review of the work done so far for the preparation of administrative and scientific terminology in Hindi and other national languages, the Commission have indicated the principles that should be followed for choosing technical terms. They deprecate any insistence on "language purism", and recommend that we should aim primarily at clarity, precision and simplicity. The Committee agrees with this approach.

The Commission have recommended further that the possibility of adopting terms which were current in the past or which are in actual use in different parts of the country should be explored, and, in suitable cases, international terminology adopted or adapted for use in Indian languages. They also recommend that in segments of the administrative machinery of the Union Government where the work is largely of a technical character, English terms

may continue to be used for so long as necessary. The general acceptance of the principles recommended by the Commission will facilitate early change-over from English to Hindi and other national languages for official and other purposes. The Commission's view that, where suitable, international technical terms might be adopted or adapted and English technical terms continued in use in some sectors for so long as necessary is in accord with the general principles laid down in Article 351 and will enable Hindi and other Indian languages to meet the ever growing demand for scientific and technical terminology.

28. The Commission recommend further that the maximum possible identity should be aimed at in evolving new terminology for all Indian languages, and suitable arrangements made for the co-ordination of such work. It would, in the opinion of the Committee, greatly facilitate the task of replacement of English by Hindi and other national languages at different levels, and at the same time strengthen the bonds between the different national languages and thereby strengthen national unity if a common terminology could be evolved for all Indian languages with such adaptations as might be necessary to fit the words into the idiom or structure of different languages.

29. The Commission have drawn attention to the need for acceleration of the work of preparation of terminology, and for better co-ordination of the work as between the Centre and the different States. The Government of India and other authorities concerned may review the position in the light of these observations, and take such steps as may be found necessary.

30. After reviewing the present position with regard to the translation into Hindi of official publications embodying Rules and Regulations, the Commission have pointed out that it is necessary to ensure that a measure of uniformity is observed in the language used in the translations of all the procedural literature, and have recommended that for that purpose it may be advisable to vest in a single agency of the Central Government the general responsibility for direction and superintendence over all such work.

Translation into Hindi of official publications embodying rules, regulations, manuals and other procedural literature.

A substantial part of the work done in Government offices relates to the interpretation of the rules and instructions contained in various departmental manuals and their application to particular cases. In the course of years, a large body of basic rules common to the Central and the State Governments has grown up. The Manuals in use in different Ministries and Departments of Government of India excluding the Defence Ministry run into approximately eightysix thousand pages. It is understood that some of the Manuals have already been translated into Hindi, but at present each Ministry prepares its own

translation and there is no special agency to supervise and co-ordinate this work. In view of the importance of ensuring a measure of uniformity in the language used in the translation of rules and other procedural literature contained in these Manuals, the Committee agrees with the recommendation of the Commission that the general responsibility for direction and superintendence over such work should be vested in a single agency of the Central Government.

Furnishing
of mechanical
and
service aids.

31. The Commission have recommended that "a scheme should be adopted whereunder Stenographers and Typists are granted special leave and accorded special facilities to enable them to undertake training in stenography and typing in the new linguistic medium and acquire knowledge of the Union language." It has also drawn attention to the urgent need for finalising the Hindi Typewriter Key-Board, and for adopting authoritative reforms in the Devanagari Script.

The Committee agrees with these suggestions and commends their acceptance.

Training of
Administrative
personnel.

32. The Government of India has already introduced a scheme which provides facilities to Union employees for learning Hindi within office hours, and also incentives in the shape of rewards for outstanding performance in the various examinations held. Over 16,000 Union employees are learning Hindi at present under this scheme on a purely voluntary basis.

The Commission have recommended that if the existing arrangements for teaching Hindi on a voluntary basis do not yield adequate results, "it would be legitimate and necessary for Government to impose, in pursuance of their language policy, obligatory requirements on their employees to qualify themselves in Hindi within a reasonable period to the extent requisite for the discharge of their duties." They consider however that in case of officials of the age of 45 and above, the requirement that may be prescribed should be only for a "comprehending knowledge" of Hindi. The Madras Government had suggested in their replies to the Commission's questionnaire that departmental language tests should be devised in relation to the proposed changes and applied not only to new entrants but to old entrants now in service. They had suggested further that special facilities should be provided for learning Hindi to old entrants who were not too old to learn a new language and they should be called upon to take their departmental language tests only after adequate facilities for learning Hindi are made available to them. Departmental language tests for different services under the Union and State Governments have been in existence since a very long time. In particular, the learning of Hindi or Hindustani was obligatory for the

Defence Services as for superior services, such as, the Indian Customs Service (formerly Imperial Customs Service), even during British rule. Facilities for Hindi teaching will no doubt continue to be provided not only for old entrants but also for new entrants. The importance of training administrative personnel in the new linguistic medium can hardly be over-emphasized. The Committee accordingly agrees with the Commission's view but, considering the difficulty of the older age-group in learning a new language and also the fact that Hindi will be used for the present only in addition to English and English may continue optionally for some time even after 1965, it is of the opinion that persons aged 45 and above should not be required to learn Hindi compulsorily.

33. The Commission have carefully examined the question of future recruitment to the Union and All-India services in the light of the changeover from English to Hindi and made separate recommendations for:—

Future recruitment to the Union Services.

- (i) recruitment of subordinate staff of Central Government departments in different regions,
- (ii) selection of candidates for admission to training establishments, such as the Military College, National Defence Academy, Navy Cadets Corps, Air Force Academy, etc.,
- (iii) recruitment to the All-India and the higher Central Services.

34. The Commission's recommendations with regard to recruitment to subordinate posts in local offices of Central Government departments are as follows:—

Recruitment to subordinate posts in Local Offices of Central Government Departments.

- (a) Units and branches of Central Government Departments, such as the Posts and Telegraphs, Railways, Excise, Income-Tax, etc., "should evolve a measure of permanent bilingualism; that is to say, they will use Hindi for internal working and the respective regional languages in their public dealings in the respective regions".

It is necessary that the staff structures of these administrative agencies and Departments should be "reviewed and decentralised to conform to the requirements of such bilingualism. The recruitment methods and qualifications for recruitment may have also to be revised suitably."

- (b) "As employers, these All-India Departments and Organisations have certainly the right to prescribe the standards of Hindi qualification (as of qualification, where necessary, in the respective regional languages) necessary for purposes of recruitment to the different categories of their establishment. It may be that for zonal and regional requirements, the standard of Hindi

qualification could be somewhat lower than what would be necessary for the headquarters organisation of these offices."

- (c) "In order that the employment opportunities in the different regions should not be curtailed during the transitional period, the requirements of Hindi knowledge may at the start be pitched somewhat lower having due regard to the progress of Hindi in the local educational system, any deficiency being made good by in-service training after recruitment. The standard may be progressively raised as facilities for instruction in the Hindi language improve in particular regions."
- (d) "The Union Government would be justified in prescribing a reasonable measure of knowledge of the Hindi language as a qualification for entry into their services by new entrants provided a sufficiently long notice is given and the measure of linguistic ability prescribed is moderate, any deficit being made good by subsequent in-service training."

These recommendations have been framed with due regard to the interests of persons belonging to non-Hindi areas in regard to the public services, and the Committee commends their acceptance. In particular, recruitment to subordinate posts in the local offices of Central Government Departments on a region-wise basis will ensure due chances of selection of candidates belonging to different linguistic regions.

It might be mentioned that the Madras Government, in their memorandum to the Official Language Commission, had suggested that Services for which State-wise recruitment would be sufficient should be distinguished from Services for which all-India recruitment is essential; and for the former category of services recruitment should be made State-wise. They had suggested further that the qualifications prescribed for such services should include one relating to the passing of a prescribed school examination in Hindi and a new departmental language test should be instituted to make sure that the employees have a degree of proficiency in the new linguistic medium which will be adequate for their official purposes. The Commission's recommendations are in accord with the suggestions of the Madras Government.

Selection of
candidates
for training
establish-
ments.

35. In regard to the National Defence Academy and other similar establishments, the Commission have recommended, first, that the possibility of replacing English as the medium of instruction in such establishments by Hindi should be reviewed, and second, that as the medium of instruction in secondary schools is being changed in most parts of the country from English to different regional

languages, it might be necessary to introduce regional languages as media in place of English for holding examinations for selection of candidates for admission to these institutions, although this may entail a region-wise decentralisation of the entrance examination, and consequently, a quota system. In the view of the Commission, the adoption of a quota system for admission to these training establishments is not open to objection to the same extent as the introduction of such a system for recruitment to All-India Services.

Instructional manuals and other technical literature which the trainees in these institutions are required to study are at present not available in Hindi. Moreover, for some time many of the trainees from non-Hindi speaking areas may not have sufficient knowledge of Hindi to be able to follow the instruction in Hindi. The Committee is of the opinion, therefore, that for some time it will be necessary to continue English as the medium of instruction in these training establishments. Suitable steps may, however, be taken to introduce Hindi, in due course, as a medium for all or some of the purposes of instruction in these institutions.

As regards the medium of examination for selection of candidates for admission to the training establishments, the Committee is of the opinion that candidates should have the option to offer either English or Hindi for any one or all the papers. The Committee is not opposed to the introduction of regional languages as media for the entrance examination. The Commission have, however, themselves expressed doubts about the feasibility of introducing a large number of languages as media without bringing in a quota system. The Committee is unable to agree with the Commission's view that the adoption of a quota system for admission to these establishments is less open to objection than the adoption of such a system for recruitment to the All-India Services. The Committee, therefore, suggests that an Expert Committee should be appointed to examine the practicability of introduction of regional languages as media without bringing in a quota system.

36. The Commission's recommendations as regards recruitment to the All-India and higher Central Services relate, firstly, to the question of introduction of compulsory language papers and, secondly, to the language medium to be adopted for the competitive examinations for these services. The recommendations dealing with the introduction of compulsory language papers are as follows:

Recruitment
to All-India
and Higher
Central
Services.

- (a) "Having regard to the linguistic abilities that would be needed by members of the All-India and the Central Services in future, it would be legitimate in our view to introduce a compulsory paper in Hindi after due notice. In order that non-Hindi

students may not be unduly handicapped in the transitional period, the paper may, to start with, be of a fairly low standard and treated as only a qualifying paper and later on after due notice again, it may be raised to the status of other compulsory papers as a marking and fully competitive paper. Further, candidates having one of the South Indian languages as mother-tongue may be exempted from answering one or two stiffer questions in the Hindi paper which the candidates whose mother-tongues are closer to Hindi may be required to answer."

- (b) "To equate the Hindi candidates with the non-Hindi candidates, the former should be required to offer a paper to be answered in their linguistic medium of the general examination, out of a variety of options including subjects of cultural interest bearing on South India and languages of the Eighth Schedule other than Hindi."
- (c) "We do not see sufficient justification for the suggestion that the 'compensatory provision' for Hindi candidates should be that they must offer a paper in a regional language (or a South Indian language) other than Hindi."
- (d) "Provision may be made for testing candidates for the All-India Services Examinations in English through specific papers even after the medium of the examination is changed to a different language or languages."

37. The Committee agrees that considering the standard of knowledge of Hindi that would be needed by members of the All-India and higher Central Services in the future, it would be desirable, after due notice, to introduce a compulsory paper in Hindi. It is unable to accept the Commission's suggestion for introduction of a qualifying paper in Hindi as an initial step, for this may have the effect of disqualifying some candidates who may succeed in the competition even with less than pass marks in the Hindi paper. The Committee also does not agree with the Commission's recommendation that Hindi-speaking candidates need not be required to offer a paper in a regional language other than Hindi, and that they should instead be required to offer a paper out of a variety of options including subjects of cultural interests bearing on South India and the languages of the Eighth Schedule other than Hindi. It would seem desirable that officers of the All-India and higher Central Services should have knowledge of at least another Indian language besides Hindi. The Committee is, accordingly, of the opinion that, after due notice, there should be two compulsory language papers of equal standard, one in Hindi, and another in a modern Indian language other than Hindi. Under this

arrangement, candidates having Hindi as their mother-tongue will appear in Hindi and a modern Indian language other than Hindi or Urdu to be selected by them; and candidates having any other modern Indian language as their mother-tongue will appear in Hindi and any other modern Indian language which they may choose.

It would be necessary for officers of the All-India and the higher Central Services to have adequate knowledge of English for the efficient performance of their duties for a considerable time to come. The Committee is, therefore, of the view that there should be a compulsory English paper even after the medium of examination is changed, and that this should continue until English is completely replaced by Hindi for all official purposes.

38. With regard to the language medium for the competitive examinations for the All-India and higher Central Services, the Commission have recommended:—

- (a) "So far as the all-India and Central Services are concerned (and this would apply, unless otherwise provided, also to other All-India services created hereafter), the alternative of the Hindi medium in addition to the existing English medium may be introduced after due notice. As and when other regional languages become a medium of instruction in the universities up to graduation stage as Hindi has done, the admission of other linguistic media will have to be considered.

Suitable standards will have to be laid down as to what degree of progress as a medium should have been made in university education in respect of any language before its eligibility as a linguistic medium for the competitive examination for recruitment to these services may be considered.

The medium of the English language may be continued as an alternative for as long as may be necessary: if, eventually, a position should arise when this alternative could be dispensed with, such dispensation should of course be made after a sufficiently long notice.

- (b) While 'moderation' might still be practicable so long as the number of linguistic media is manageable, having regard to the availability of examiners with suitable bilingual or multi-lingual qualifications, a stage might arrive when the admission of further linguistic media would be found impracticable.

Before such a stage is reached, the Union and State Governments must take mutual counsel and decide whether, (1) they would accept a change in the scheme of recruitment to the all-India services or, in the alternative, (2) agree upon a limitation in the number of the linguistic media, or (3) make other appropriate changes in the system of the examination."

39. As the Commission have pointed out, it would be extremely difficult to attain satisfactory standards of moderation if the competition is held in a large number of linguistic media. The Union Public Service Commission (as also almost all the State Public Service Commissions) had laid stress on this difficulty in their replies to the Commission's questionnaire. The introduction of a quota system might provide a solution to this difficulty, but it would destroy the All-India character of these services, and might also bring down the standards of selection. In their memoranda or replies to the Commission's questionnaire, most of the State Governments had expressed themselves in favour of continuance of the English medium, and the introduction of Hindi either immediately or after some time as an alternative medium. The Madras Government had stated in their memorandum to the Commission that it must be accepted as a fundamental rule admitting of no exception that Hindi and English should be available equally as two alternative media to be chosen at the option of the candidate. They stated in their replies to the Commission's questionnaire that it would be desirable to have regional languages as media, if possible; if not, not. In their subsequent memorandum on the Report of the Commission, the Madras Government have expressed the view that every regional language should be admitted as one of the alternative media for the Combined All-India Examination as soon as that language has been brought into use as medium of instruction in schools and colleges up to graduate level and the problem of moderation should be solved as satisfactorily as possible by the Union Public Service Commission.

After careful consideration of all aspects of the question, the Committee has reached the conclusion that English should continue to be the medium of examination, and Hindi may be admitted as an alternative medium, after some time, both Hindi and English being available as alternative media at the option of the candidate for as long as necessary. The Committee has no objection in principle to the admission of regional languages as the media of these examinations, if this is found to be feasible without the introduction of a quota system. Considering the complexities of the problem of moderation and the risks involved in introducing an arrangement that might eventually result in the adoption of a quota system, the

Committee suggests that an expert committee should be appointed to examine the feasibility of introducing the regional languages as media without bringing in any quota system.

40. Reference was made earlier to the directive of article 351 that it shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language and to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of India's composite culture. It was also observed that in determining the pace of change-over from English to Hindi, regard has to be paid to the progress of Hindi in non-Hindi areas. The Commission have carefully reviewed the valuable work done by voluntary agencies for the propagation of Hindi in non-Hindi areas with only limited assistance from Government. Having regard to the constitutional directive, and the importance of the work for facilitating changeover to Hindi as the official language of the Union, they recommend that the responsibility for this work should now be taken over directly by Government. It is envisaged that where there are voluntary agencies which have acquired experience in the field and developed appropriate techniques and resources, the actual work of teaching and propagation of Hindi may continue in the main to be done by them. The role of the State in relation to such voluntary bodies will be chiefly to provide financial and other aids, and exercise necessary supervision over the work with a view to ensure co-ordination of the activities of different agencies, and such expansion and improvement of the programme as may be necessary. Where efficient non-official agencies are not available, Government would, no doubt, have to take upon itself the responsibility of setting up the necessary organisation. The Commission have indicated the directions in which steps have to be taken for the more systematic organisation and expansion of the work of propagation of Hindi. They consider that the Central Government should make liberal financial assistance available to the voluntary agencies for enlarging and improving their activities on the lines thus indicated. They have recommended further that encouragement should be given by the Union and State Governments in the field of linguistics and philology with a view to promote greater rapprochement amongst the various Indian languages and wider understanding and comprehension of the varied cultural inheritance of India. The Committee feels that similar encouragement should be given also to the study of literatures of different Indian languages.

Propagation
and
development
of Hindi.

SECTION II

41. The Commission have not recommended the imposition of any restrictions, for the present, on the use of English for the official purposes of the Union. The

Restrictions
on the use
of English.

placing of such restrictions is likely to cause practical difficulties, in present circumstances, when a sufficient number of union employees have not been trained to work in the Hindi medium. As pointed out by the Commission, there is in any case no advantage to be gained by this at the present stage. It might be mentioned that in their replies to the Commission's questionnaire, several State Governments had opposed the idea of imposition of such restrictions at this stage. The Committee accepts the view taken by the Commission.

SECTION III

Language of legislation and of higher courts

Constitutional provisions.

42. The provisions relating to the language of the Supreme Court, High Courts and for Acts, Bills etc. of Parliament and the State Legislatures are contained in Articles 348 and 349 of the Constitution to which a reference has been made earlier.

Commission's recommendations—
Language of legislation.

43. The Commission have considered the question of language of Legislation in Chapter IX of its Report, and made the following recommendations:—

- (a) "Apart from the authoritative enactment which, in our opinion, ought to be eventually in Hindi, both in respect of parliamentary legislation and State legislation, there may be need, for the sake of public convenience, to publish translations of the enactments in different regional languages. In respect of State legislation this would be normally necessary in the regional language(s) prevalent in the State, whereas in respect of parliamentary legislation it may be necessary in all the important regional languages current in the country."
- (b) "We consider that it is essential, when the time comes for this changeover, that the entire statute book of the country should be in one language which cannot of course be other than Hindi. Therefore, the language of legislation of the States as well as of Parliament and also the language of all statutory orders, rules etc. issued under any law should be the Hindi language."

Language of Parliamentary Bills, Acts, etc. — Committee's opinion.

44. The State Governments, the Supreme Court and High Courts who sent replies to the Commission's questionnaire were virtually unanimous that the language of parliamentary legislation should eventually be Hindi. The Madras Government had observed that for a long time

there was no answer except bilingual legislation and until 1965 the official text should be in English with an authorised translation in Hindi, the position being reversed thereafter. The Committee is in general agreement with this approach and considers that provision should be made, in the first instance, for an authorised translation in the Hindi language. For the convenience of the subordinate judiciary and the public, it will be necessary to make arrangements also for providing translations in the official languages of the States.

45. The Constitution already gives option to the State Legislatures to adopt the regional language for purposes of Bills, Acts, etc. subject to the condition that a translation in English is to be published in the Official Gazette and treated as the authoritative text thereof in the English language. The Committee is of the opinion that this arrangement should remain unmodified, but provision should be made for the publication of a translation in Hindi if the original text is in a language other than Hindi.

Language of State Bills, Acts, etc.— Committee's opinion.

46. With regard to the language of the Supreme Court, the Commission have made the following recommendations:—

Language of the Supreme Court.

- (a) "So far as the language of the Supreme Court is concerned, eventually there can be only one language, that is Hindi, in respect of the entire court proceedings and records, including of course Judgments and Orders. When the time comes for the change-over, the Supreme Court will have to function only in Hindi language. The authoritative text of reported judgments of the Supreme Court will also be published in the same language."
- (b) "Processes issued in Hindi by the Supreme Court when addressed to a non-Hindi region or against a person whose mother-tongue is not Hindi should be accompanied by a translation for the convenience of the concerned party."
- (c) "Provision should also be made for reliable translations of Supreme Court decisions being available in the State languages in separate regional language series."
- (d) Option may be given to individual judges to deliver their judgments in English; and, provision made for granting leave by presiding Judges to Counsel to argue in English even after the general change-over in the linguistic medium has taken place.

The change-over in the language of the higher courts will necessarily be a prolonged process, and may reach completion after a general change-over has occurred in the language medium for other official purposes. The Committee considers that the recommendations of the Commission with regard to the eventual use of Hindi in the Supreme Court are appropriate and may be accepted.

Language of High Courts. 47. The principal recommendations of the Commission regarding the language of High Courts may be briefly summed up as below:—

- (i) When the time for the change-over arrives, the language of judgments, decrees and orders of all High Courts should be Hindi with reliable translations in the respective regional languages of all reportable judgments for the guidance of subordinate courts;
- (ii) the processes, decrees and orders of High Courts should, wherever necessary, be issued in "authorised translations" in the regional languages in addition to their original issues in Hindi; and
- (iii) Even after the general change-over in the linguistic medium has taken place, option may be allowed to High Court Judges to deliver judgments not only in English but also "in their regional languages, provided English or Hindi translations of such judgments are authenticated by them"; and Counsel may be permitted by Presiding Judges, in suitable cases, to argue in English or the regional language.

48. It has already been mentioned that under clause (2) of article 348, the Governor of a State may, with the previous consent of the President, authorise the use of the Hindi language, or any other language used for any official purposes of the State, in proceedings in the High Court but this does not apply to judgments, decrees or orders passed by High Courts. The proceedings of High Courts (as distinguished from judgments, decrees and orders) can thus be conducted under the existing provisions of the Constitution in the official language of the State with the previous consent of the President, if the Government of a State so desires. The Committee does not see sufficient justification for modifying this provision and considers that processes may issue in the regional language with a translation in Hindi.

49. The main issue for consideration is whether judgments, decrees and orders passed by High Courts should, on change-over from English, be in Hindi only, or option should be allowed; as for proceedings in High Courts, for

the use of the official language or languages of State in which the High Court is located. The determination of this question is not easy.

Several States including some of the non-Hindi States had expressed the view, in their memoranda to the Official Language Commission, that on change-over from English, Hindi should be the language of judgments, decrees, and orders of High Courts, while others were in favour of allowing the use of regional languages along with Hindi or regional languages only for this purpose. There was a similar division of opinion among Judges of High Courts. The Attorney-General and the Solicitor General had strongly urged that on change-over from English, the language of the Supreme Court as well as of High Courts should be Hindi.

50. There are several considerations in favour of adoption of a common language for the Supreme Court and all High Courts. Judgments and orders of one High Court are quoted in other High Courts. It is *prima facie* desirable that the Supreme Court should have before it, in appeal, the original text of the judgments, and not a translation which may often be in dispute. Advocates of one High Court appear in other High Courts, as also in the Supreme Court, and some sort of an All-India bar has grown up in this process. It would be difficult for this practice to continue for long if the High Courts in different areas function in different languages, and the language of all High Courts and the Supreme Court is not the same. There may be difficulty also in recruiting Judges for the Supreme Court who are selected from amongst senior High Court Judges and senior Advocates in the country if a number of High Courts function in a language different from the language of the Supreme Court for all purposes, including the passing of judgments, orders and decrees. On the other hand, it has to be borne in mind that the subordinate judiciary will be functioning everywhere through the regional languages, and it will be generally convenient for them as for litigants if judgments and orders of High Courts are in the regional language. Not all judgments and orders passed by High Courts are reported as rulings, and appeals are filed before the Supreme Court only in a small percentage of cases. It should be possible, therefore, to provide for the making of reliable translations of reportable judgments, and of judgments against which appeals are filed before the Supreme Court. The Committee hopes that in due course, knowledge of Hindi will become sufficiently wide-spread among the intelligentsia, particularly lawyers, to enable the present practice of advocates from one High Court appearing in another High Court to be continued also in the future. The fear that has been expressed about difficulties arising in the recruitment of suitable persons for appointment as

Supreme Court Judges will, the Committee feels, be solved similarly in course of time. Meanwhile, English will, no doubt, continue in use in both the Supreme Court and the High Courts; and, individual Judges and counsel may be permitted, as recommended by the Commission, to use the English language even after a general change-over has been effected in the linguistic medium of these bodies. In the opinion of the Committee, the regional languages should have full scope in their respective States in the field of justice as in other spheres. The Committee has accordingly suggested that provision should be made for the use optionally of the official language or languages of a State for purposes of judgments, decrees and orders with the previous consent of the President, and for translations of all reportable judgments and orders into the Hindi language.

Preparatory measures for changeover in the field of law.

51. The Commission consider that for bringing about a change-over in the field of legislation and administration of justice, the preliminary measures required to be taken are—

- (i) The preparation of a standard legal lexicon.
- (ii) Re-enactment of the statute book in Hindi in respect of both the Central and the State legislation.

52. The Commission observe that the standard legal lexicon may draw upon ancient texts, terms and phraseology used in the former Princely States, and where necessary, on international terminology. They regard it as essential for the maintenance of the juridical and judicial unity of the country that legal terminology should be identical in all Indian languages and understood in the same sense throughout the country.

The Committee is in general agreement with this approach. The translation of the Central and State Acts will be greatly facilitated if a lexicon of technical and legal terms, which would be identical in Hindi and other regional languages, is prepared. Where identity cannot be attained, alternatives should be given in the various regional languages. The lexicon will serve to give the terms that fixity of connotation which is necessary for precision in the language of the law, and will facilitate the translation of the statutes into Hindi and the other regional languages. The translations, that are thus made, should be authenticated or re-enacted by the appropriate legislative authorities. Considering the complexity of the work, the Committee considers that it would be advisable to constitute a Standing Commission, consisting of legal experts representing the different national languages of India, for the proper planning and implementation of the

entire programme relating to the preparation of legal terminology and glossaries and the translation of statutes in Hindi. It is suggested that the State Governments may be advised to take necessary measures, in consultation with the concerned authorities at the Centre, for translation of State statutes from English into their own official languages, utilising for the purpose the terms of the common legal vocabulary that would be prepared by the Standing Commission.

53. The Commission have recommended further that the present pace of evolving legal terminology should be greatly accelerated and steps taken for the publication from time to time of glossaries of such terminology under the 'imprimatur' of a suitable authority. The Committee is in agreement with these recommendations and commends their acceptance.

SECTION IV

Form of numerals

54. Under article 343(1) the form of numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union 'shall be the international form of Indian numerals. It is, however, provided in clause (2) of the same article that, during the period of 15 years from commencement of the Constitution, the President may authorise the use of the Devanagari numerals in addition to the international numerals for any of the official purposes of the Union; and under clause (3) Parliament may by law authorise the use of the Devanagari numerals even after 1965 for specified purposes. The Commission were required under one of their terms of reference to make recommendations as to the form of numerals to be used for anyone or more specified purposes of the Union. They observe in their report that "the fact that the international form of Indian numerals has been widely adopted in current practice for the regional scripts for the languages of the South and the constitutional provision that this form of numerals should be used for the purposes of the Union and for purposes of inter-State communication mark it out for universal adoption in the country by public authorities if there is to be a common series of numerals all over India". The Commission have accordingly not made any recommendation for the issue of directions by the President for the use of the Devanagari numerals in addition to the international numerals. They have, however, recommended that the Union Government should have "a uniform basic policy as to the use of the Devanagari numerals in addition to the international numerals in the publications of the different Ministries depending upon the public intended to

Form of numerals to be used for official purposes of the Union.

be addressed." The Committee feels that in formulating the basic policy for the use of Devanagari numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals some consideration may be given also to the subject-matter. Thus, where a publication deals with general administrative or literary subjects, Devanagari numerals may also be used, but for scientific, technical and statistical publications, the international numerals may be regarded as particularly well-suited for common use.

SECTION V

Preparation of a time-schedule according to which and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language of the Union and as a language for communication between the Union and State Governments and between one State Government and another.

55. The Commission have indicated the preparatory measures that have to be taken for facilitating the progressive use of Hindi for the official purposes of the Union and as a language of inter-communication between the Union and the States, but they consider that the actual drawing up of a plan of action and the setting up of a time-schedule therewithin must be left to the Government of India themselves to do after a study of the relevant factors, such as assessment of the volume of preparatory work involved, present linguistic capacity of the Government staff, approximate dates by which they could be trained etc. They observe that the time-schedule which is thus prepared will have to be kept constantly under review, and adjusted from time to time in the light of practical experience and with due regard to the progress of personnel training, and other preparatory measures. Apart from the fact that a detailed plan of action like this can be satisfactorily drawn up only by the Government of India who will have the responsibility for its implementation, it has to be remembered that any plan of action and time-schedule that are drawn up will have, as pointed out by the Commission, to be kept under constant review and revised by the Government of India from time to time in the light of the progress made and other practical considerations. In the circumstances, the Committee considers that the preparation and implementation of a plan of action should be left to the Union Government as suggested by the Commission. In preparing this plan of action, the Union Government will, no doubt, keep in view the opinion expressed by this Committee on the recommendations of the Official Language Commission.

PART II

56. The statement below gives the recommendations of the Official Language Commission in the order in which they are stated in their report and the opinions thereon of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language.

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CHAPTER V
TERMINOLOGY

- 1 In adopting terminology, clarity, precision and simplicity should be primarily aimed at. Doctrinaire insistence on 'language purism' is deprecated.
- 2 Promising sources for adopting new terminology should be available in the indigenous terms current in the past, and the terms currently used in actual life amongst various categories of craftsmen, artisans, etc. These should be explored. In suitable cases, international terminology may be adopted or adapted to the genius of the Indian languages.
- 3 The maximum possible identity in evolving new terminology for all Indian languages should be aimed at.
- 4 Suitable arrangements should be made for evolving terminology and for co-ordinating such work as between different authorities with reference to the Union language as well as the other regional languages.
- 5 On a review of the work done so far there would seem to be room for greater acceleration in the work and need for achieving more effective co-ordination as between different terminological efforts.

These recommendations
may be accepted.

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CHAPTER VII

LANGUAGE IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—I

Official Language of the Union

The pre-requisites of a change-over in the language for administration are :

- (1) Preparation and standardisation of the necessary special terminology used in the administrative field.
- (2) Translation into Hindi of official publications embodying rules, regulations, manuals, handbooks and other procedural literature relating to the working of the administrative machinery.
- (3) Training of administrative personnel of different categories in appropriate standards of linguistic competence for the purpose of using the new linguistic medium with the requisite efficiency and facility of expression.
- (4) Development and furnishing in the new linguistic medium of the mechanical and service aids necessary for speeding up and facilitating office work, such as typewriters and typists, stenography and stenographers, printing and duplicating machines, teleprinters and other communication services adapted to the use of the new medium, etc.

Regarding (1) above, it is a part of the general problem of terminology considered in Chapter V.

6 Regarding (2) above, it is necessary to ensure that a measure of uniformity is observed in the language used in the

This may be accepted.

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	<p>translations of all this procedural literature, and for that purpose it may be advisable to invest in a single agency of the Central Government the general responsibility for direction and superintendence over all such work.</p>	
7	<p>As regards (3) above, (training of personnel) : the present arrangements made by the Government of India for training their employees on a voluntary basis in the Hindi language are reviewed.</p>	<p>Government may prescribe obligatory requirements on Government servants to qualify themselves in Hindi.</p>
	<p>If experience shows that adequate results are not forthcoming under such optional arrangements, it would be legitimate and necessary for Government to impose, in pursuance of their language policy, obligatory requirements on Government servants to qualify themselves in Hindi within a reasonable period to the extent requisite for the discharge of their duties.</p>	
8	<p>As regards (4) above, schemes should be adopted whereunder stenographers and typists are granted special leave and accorded special facilities to enable them to undertake training in stenography and typing in the new linguistic medium and to acquire knowledge of the Union language.</p>	<p>This may be accepted.</p>
9	<p>The standard of linguistic ability in the English language normally associated with the academic education prescribed as a qualification for purposes of recruitment to various categories of posts and services would furnish a guide as to the standard of linguistic ability in Hindi to be aimed at for the different categories of Government personnel. During earlier stages perhaps a slightly lower standard might suffice.</p>	<p>This may be accepted in principle but during the transitional stages a slightly lower standard might suffice.</p>

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- 10 Generally speaking, penalties would seem to be appropriate with reference to failure to attain prescribed standard by the due date ; incentives and rewards would seem to be appropriate with reference to performance above the minimum standard laid down.

This recommendation may be dropped.

- 11 In certain segments of the administrative machinery of the Union Government, technical English terms might continue to be used for an indefinite time in the future at levels at which it is not considered necessary to evolve Indian terminology ; similarly correspondence may be carried on in the English language where the work involves constant contact with foreign countries through that medium.

This may be accepted except that the Committee feels that it would suffice to provide for the continued use of technical English terms in the future for so long as it is not considered necessary to evolve Indian terminology, and not for an indefinite time as recommended by the Commission.



- 12 Apart from the Ministries or departments of the Government of India, the linguistic medium will have to change over in the administrative agencies and organisations, such as the Railways, the Posts and Telegraphs, the Excise, Customs, Income-tax Departments, and so on. Some of these organisations have units and branches located in different parts of the country and the language problem presents a special aspect in regard to them. It is necessary that these administrative organisations should evolve a measure of permanent bilingualism ; that is to say, they will use the Hindi language for purposes of internal working and the respective regional languages in their public dealings in the respective regions.

This may be accepted.

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- 13 It is necessary that the staff structures of these administrative agencies and departments of the Government of India with a country-wide coverage should be reviewed and decentralised to conform to the requirements of such bilingualism. The recruitment methods and qualifications for recruitment may have also to be revised suitably.

- 14 As employers, these all-India departments and organisations have certainly the right to prescribe the standards of Hindi qualification (as of qualification, where necessary, in the respective regional languages) necessary for purposes of recruitment to the different categories of their establishment. It may be that for zonal and regional requirements, the standard of Hindi qualification could be somewhat lower than what would be necessary for the headquarters organisation of these offices as the work in the latter, as distinguished from the former, would be carried on wholly in Hindi.

These recommendations may be accepted.

- 15 In order that the employment opportunities in the different regions should not be curtailed during the transitional period, the requirements of Hindi knowledge may at the start be pitched somewhat lower having due regard to the progress of Hindi in the local educational system, any deficiency being made good by in-service training after recruitment. The standard may be progressively raised as facilities for instruction in the Hindi language improve in particular regions.

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- 16 The language policy of these all-India administrative agencies of the Central Government, like the Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, in their dealings with the public should be framed principally with a view to the convenience of the public whom they are designed to serve : the instrumentality of these departments should not be used as a 'lever' to force the pace of Hindi propagation at the cost of convenience to the public. Where Hindi terms and expressions are used on signboards, forms, etc. for the purpose of familiarising the public with them, the text should also be given in the regional language (or English where relevant) having regard to public convenience.

- 17 It is necessary to examine all new Hindi terms and expressions, especially those used by these all-India administrative agencies which come into intimate contact with the public, so as to ensure that the terms and expressions are not discordant with local forms of speech and associations ; where certain Sanskrit words have come to acquire in different languages different specialised meanings the employment of inept or unsuitable expressions in disregard or ignorance of these is apt to bring the attempt at ' Indianization ' of the medium itself into disparagement and ridicule.

These recommendations may be accepted.

- 18 It would not be correct, instead of training personnel in the new medium, to adopt the device of separate translation units or bureaux being maintained at additional cost to the public funds for translating the work done originally in the English language. While translation services would

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have their place in the administrative organisation both permanently and as an aid during the transitional stage, these cannot be a substitute for training the personnel to do its work originally in Hindi. In our view, the continuance of the original work in English and its translation at public expense at different stages into Hindi was not the sense in which the change-over of the linguistic medium for the business of the Union was enacted in the Constitution.

- 19 The Union Government would be justified in prescribing a reasonable measure of knowledge of the Hindi language as a qualification for entry into their services by new entrants, provided a sufficiently long notice is given and the measure of linguistic ability prescribed is moderate, any deficit being made good by subsequent in-service training.

This may be accepted.

- 20 In the case of officials of the age of 45 and above, the requirement to be prescribed should be for a 'comprehending knowledge' of Hindi rather than high levels of linguistic ability for purposes of expression corresponding to the levels of their ability in English. If necessary, separate tests may be devised for the purpose.

The Committee considers that there should be no obligation to learn Hindi in the case of officials of the age of 45 and above.

- 21 We do not recommend that any restrictions should be imposed for the present on the use of the English language for any of the purposes of the Union.

This may be accepted.

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22	<p>It has not been possible for us to furnish a regular time-table by dates and stages as to how Hindi should be introduced into the business of the Union so as to accomplish the general change-over within the period fixed by the Constitution. Since the Ministries of the Government of India are components of a single organic unity, the phasing of the progressive use of Hindi must, in general, be lateral and coherent in the different Ministries and Departments. We have not had the benefit of a provisional 'plan of action' by the Government of India covering all its Ministries and Departments and comprehending their special difficulties if any, estimates of work-loads of basic preparatory work involved, the present linguistic capacity of all the Government staff and approximate dates by which they could be trained in the new linguistic medium etc. While we have therefore indicated the prerequisites, the general sequence of the phasing and the principles covering various related issues, the actual drawing up of a plan of action and the setting up of time schedule therewithin must be left to the Government of India themselves to do after a study of the relevant factors.</p>	<p>The Committee desires the Union Government to prepare and implement a plan of action, for the progressive use of Hindi as the official language of the Union, in pursuance of the opinions of the Committee on the recommendations of the Official Language Commission.</p>
23	<p>The special case of the Indian Audit and Accounts Department under the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India is examined. After a State has adopted its regional language as the official language, it will be necessary to arrange that the staff of the Indian Audit and Accounts Department, dealing with the affairs of the State is versed in that language sufficiently for the purpose of carrying out its duties of compiling accounts and the exercise of audit. This implies that the Accountant General's/Comptroller's office in a State should be capable of compiling accounts from returns submitted</p>	<p>This may be accepted.</p>

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in the regional language and conducting audit with reference to noting and administrative decisions recorded in the regional language.

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| <p>24 'Provincialisation of audit' was mentioned as a possible way of resolving this difficulty; it is however not necessary to consider such an alternative which would involve a major change in the constitutional arrangements currently in force. We feel that it ought to be possible to devise a solution within the frame-work of the existing constitutional arrangement whereby, on the one hand the establishment of the Accountant-General's/Comptroller's office in each State would be able to carry out their duties in respect of transactions recorded in the State language, and on the other, the present system, wherein the accounts and audit responsibility in respect of the Union as well as of the States is centred in the Comptroller and Auditor-General working through a single Indian Audit and Accounts Department, is maintained. The organisation and methods of staffing of the Indian Audit and Accounts Department may have to be revised, somewhat similarly to the lines envisaged in respect of the Central Departments comprising activities spread over the whole country.</p> | <p>This may be accepted.</p> |
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CHAPTER VIII

LANGUAGE IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION—II

Progress made in the use of Hindi in State Administrations

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| <p>25 The States concerned will have to consider for themselves at what level administrative occasions would arise for their officers</p> | <p>This may be accepted.</p> |
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to enter into communication, oral or written, with officers of other States or of the Union. The State Governments must determine for themselves what staff would be affected and what precise steps should be taken for training their personnel at the appropriate levels for dealing with Hindi communications.

- 26 As in the case of the Union Government, the State Governments would be justified in imposing obligatory requirements for the acquisition of qualifications in the Hindi language with reference to the staff embraced by the requirements of the new linguistic medium in the field of inter-State and State-Union communications. It would seem that acquisition of a knowledge of the Hindi language beyond these requirements should be on the basis of rewards and incentives rather than compulsion and penalties ; however, this is an issue which must be decided by each State for itself.

These recommendations
may be accepted.

- 27 Arrangements may be made for outgoing communications from the Union Government to a Hindi-speaking State being accompanied by a Hindi translation of the English text, whenever such a State makes a request to this effect. The employment of Hindi in actual work of administration before 1965 in this manner will help in establishing forms of address, expressions etc. in that language.

The form of numerals

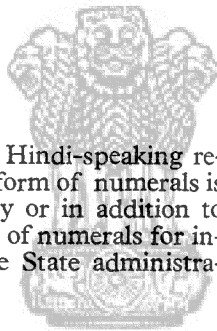
- 28 The international form of numerals is itself of Indian origin and as such is nothing but yet another mutation of the ancient Indian

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numerals, analogous to the several forms of numerals developed, together with their separate scripts, by the modern Indian languages.

It is to be noted that in the South the international form of numerals is in current use in the four great Dravidian languages, sometimes and to a varying extent, alongside of the numerals of their respective scripts.



- 29 In certain States in the Hindi-speaking region the Devanagari form of numerals is used either exclusively or in addition to the international form of numerals for internal purposes of the State administration.

It is for the respective State Governments to decide whether this should be so. So far as the Union Government is concerned, there should be a uniform basic policy depending on the public intended to be addressed as to the use of Devanagari numerals in addition to the international form of numerals in the publications of the different Ministries.

So far as the Union Government is concerned, the Committee considers that there should be a uniform basic policy as to the use of Devanagari numerals in addition to the international form of numerals in the publications of the different Ministries depending on the public intended to be addressed and the subject matter of the publication.

- 30 We have no recommendation to make for the issue of directions by the President for the use of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals for any purposes of the Union between now and the time when the issue will be re-examined by the next Commission to be appointed in 1960.

This appears to be unnecessary and need not be taken into consideration.

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CHAPTER IX
LANGUAGE OF LAW AND LAW COURTS—I
Language of Legislation

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| <p>31 The practice as regards answering interpellations appears to vary. In some cases, provision is made, for furnishing, for the information of the other Members, written translations of the questions and answers in the prescribed language(s) of the legislative body concerned when these have been rendered in another language. Such a practice might be generalised with advantage.</p> | <p>Under the terms of reference, the Commission were expected to make recommendations as to the language to be used for all or any of the purposes mentioned in article 348 of the Constitution. The question of language to be used in Parliament and State legislatures is not covered by article 348. These recommendations, therefore, go beyond the terms of reference and may be left out of consideration.</p> |
| <p>32 It may happen that for a period of time after (<i>i.e.</i>, after the 25th January, 1965, in the case of the Parliament) English has been replaced by Hindi in the Parliament and by the respective official languages of the States, in the State Legislatures, cases would arise in which a member may not be able to express himself adequately in Hindi/the State language concerned or in his own mother-tongue ; and it would seem advisable that provision should be made to empower the presiding authorities in such cases to permit the members to address the House in English.</p> | |
| <p>33 Apart from the authoritative enactment which, in our opinion, ought to be eventually in Hindi, both in respect of parliamentary legislation and State legislation, there may be need, for the sake of public convenience, to publish translations of the enactments in different regional languages. In respect of State legislation, this would be normally necessary in the regional language(s) prevalent in the State, whereas in respect of parliamentary legislation it may be necessary in all the important regional languages current in the country.</p> | <p>Until 1965 or until English is replaced by Hindi, parliamentary legislation should continue to be in the English language with an authorised translation in the Hindi language. Arrangements may be made for providing translations also in the official languages of the various States.</p> |
| <p>34 We consider that it is essential, when the time comes for this change-over, that the</p> | <p>So far as the language of State legislation is concerned, the State legislature may adopt the official language of the State</p> |

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entire statute book of the country should be in one language which cannot of course be other than Hindi. Therefore the language of legislation of the States as well as of Parliament and also of course consequently the language of all statutory orders, rules, etc., issued under any law, should be the Hindi language.

for this purpose but an authoritative text thereof has to be published in English under Article 348 (3). If the original text is in a language other than Hindi, a Hindi translation may also be published with it.

CHAPTER X

LANGUAGE OF LAW AND LAW COURTS—II

Language of Law Courts

- 35 So far as the language of the Supreme Court is concerned, eventually there can be only one language, *i.e.* Hindi, in respect of the entire court proceedings and records, including of course the judgments and orders. When the time comes for the change-over, the Supreme Court will have to function only in Hindi language. The authoritative texts of reported judgments of the Supreme Court will also be published in the same language.

- 36 Processes issued in Hindi by the Supreme Court, when addressed to a non-Hindi region or against a person whose mother-tongue is not Hindi, should be accompanied by a translation for the convenience of the concerned party.

- 37 Provision should also be made for reliable translations of Supreme Court decisions being available in the State languages in separate regional language series.

These recommendations may be accepted.

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38 The pros and cons of the regional and Hindi languages are carefully examined so far as the linguistic medium of the High Court is concerned. There are several strong and, in our opinion, conclusive reasons in favour of deciding that when the time for the change-over arrives, the language of the judgments, decrees and orders of the High Courts must be a common linguistic medium for the whole country and therefore these should be in the Hindi language in all regions.

39 Since subordinate courts are guided by the determination of law given in the High Court judgments, there will have to be translations into the respective regional languages of all reportable High Court judgments. It would be necessary, in our opinion, to ensure that these translations are sufficiently reliable and we would suggest, for consideration by the concerned authorities at the material time, that a 'translation unit' may be established in each High Court for such translation of judgments.

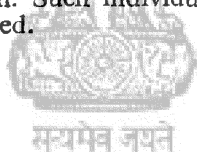
40 So far as the processes, decrees and orders of High Courts are concerned, we would suggest that, wherever necessary, it may be provided that they would issue in regional languages in their 'authorised translations', in addition, to their original issue in Hindi.

With the previous consent of the President, the official language of the State or Hindi may be used in proceedings in the High Court under clause (2) of Article 348, but judgments, decrees and orders passed by High Courts have to be in the English language. The Committee is of the opinion that the President may be pleased to give his sanction to the introduction of a Bill in Parliament providing for the use optionally of Hindi and other official languages of States for purposes of judgments, decrees and orders also, with the previous consent of the President. Judgments, decrees and orders which are made in a language other than English should be accompanied by a translation in the English language. All reportable judgments and orders should be translated also into the Hindi language.

The Committee has already expressed its opinion as regards the language of decrees and orders under Serial 38. So far as processes are concerned, they may be in the regional language with a translation in the Union language.

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- 41 As in all other such cases, so in regard to the language of the law courts, we consider it important to concentrate on bringing about the general change-over in the linguistic medium for the system as a whole. Wherever it is necessary to make individual exceptions for a good reason, *e.g.*, in order that we may continue to enjoy or to secure afresh the services of suitable personnel for the posts of judges in the Supreme Court and the several High Courts, dispensation as to the language should be readily granted. It may be that for a long time after such a general change-over in the language of the judiciary has taken place, there would still be individual judges, who would prefer to deliver their judgments in English. Such individuals must be accommodated.
- This may be accepted.



- 42 Having regard to the recommendations made by the States Reorganisation Commission regarding transfer of High Court judges and the proposals about a single judicial service, it might be worth considering whether certain minimum language tests in appropriate regional languages and Hindi should not be adopted in the case of High Court judges.
- The Committee does not consider it appropriate to prescribe language tests for High Court Judges. It is, however, appreciated that a knowledge of Hindi and the official language of the State in which the High Court is situated will be useful to Judges.

- 43 Apart from the option of delivering judgments in English, there may be an option
- Vide* opinion on Serial 38.

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to High Court judges to deliver judgments in their regional languages provided English or Hindi translations of such judgments are authenticated by them.

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| 44 | Provision may be made for granting leave by presiding judges to Counsel, in suitable cases, to argue in English in the Supreme Court and in English or the regional languages in the several High Courts even after the general change-over in the linguistic medium has taken place. | This may be accepted. |
| 45 | We would recommend, for consideration by the States concerned at the appropriate time, the making of a provision (at any rate) at the district levels, whereunder it would be open to parties or counsel to resort to the Hindi language at their option. We expect that this would be particularly necessary in larger towns ; but if it is found necessary at lower levels as well, the principle ought to be extended. | The language of courts subordinate to High Courts is not regulated by article 348. This recommendation is, therefore, not covered by the terms of reference. |
| 46 | So far as the language of special tribunals is concerned, wherever their decisions or orders have a bearing not confined to a single region, it should be prescribed that their judgments and orders shall be delivered originally in Hindi. A translation into another language may be made available to the parties where necessary. As in the case of High Courts, we would envisage the English language being allowed to be used as the language of the judgment or order by individual judges of such special tribunals for a considerable transitional period. | This may be accepted. |

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CHAPTER XI

LANGUAGE OF LAW AND LAW COURTS—III

The dynamics of the change-over

47 The following preliminaries appear to us to be prerequisite to the accomplishment of a changeover of the linguistic medium in the fields of legislation and administration of justice :

- (i) The preparation of a standard legal lexicon ;
- (ii) Re-enactment of the statute book in Hindi in respect of both the Central and State legislation.

48 So far as evolving of legal terminology is concerned, it seems to us necessary to adopt the following plan of action and to carry it out as rapidly as possible :

- (1) The present pace of evolving the necessary terminology for the Indian languages in the field of law must be greatly accelerated.
- (2) Steps must be taken for the publication, from time to time as they get ready, of glossaries of such terminology, as standard and recognised expressions under the 'imprimatur' of a suitable authority.
- (3) A rendering of the statute-book, both Central and State, into Hindi must be projected under the auspices of the Centre. It should be decided as to whether such Hindi versions of the law should not be enacted afresh by the appropriate legislative authority ; precise arrangements in this behalf and a programme of action in respect of the Central as well as the State laws should be settled and pursued

The Committee agrees with these recommendations, and considers that it would be necessary to constitute a standing Commission or a similar high level body consisting of legal experts representing the different national languages of India for proper planning and implementation of the entire programme relating to translation of statutes and preparation of legal terminology and glossaries.

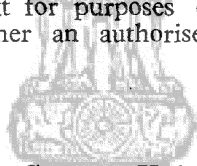
It is felt that in so far as the question of translation of State statutes into the official languages of the States are concerned, the State Governments might be advised to take necessary measures in consultation with the concerned Central authorities.

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49 In order that original drafting may commence being attempted in Hindi by persons competent to do so and drafting practices gradually develop in that linguistic medium, it seems to us necessary to allow those States, who may want to do so, to undertake authoritative enactment originally in Hindi itself.

50 We envisage a transitional period of time during which the statute book as well as the case law would be partially in Hindi and in English, the Hindi language progressively assuming a larger proportion of the whole. During such a transitional period, resort may be had to the device of texts being made available in both Hindi and the English language, one of them being the original text for purposes of the law and the other an authorised translation.

These recommendations may be accepted.



CHAPTER XII

THE UNION LANGUAGE AND PUBLIC SERVICES EXAMINATIONS

51 For obvious reasons the linguistic media of the competitive examinations should be generally in keeping with the media of instruction in the educational system.

This recommendation may be dropped.

52 It seems there has not been yet an overhaul of the linguistic media of instruction in some of the training establishments ; and probably most of such training continues to be in English, although it may be susceptible of replacement, to more or less extent, by the Hindi medium. Such a review should be made, and steps taken for the language media for the appropriate entrance examinations, being related on the one hand to the medium of instruction

For some time, it will be necessary to continue English as the medium of instruction in the training establishments to which a reference has been made in the Commission's report. Suitable steps should, however, be taken to introduce Hindi as a medium for all or

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in the different training institutions, and, conforming on the other to the changes in the system of secondary education taking place in the country.

some of the purposes of instruction.

- 53 If in view of this, English has to be displaced partly or wholly as the medium for these examinations, it might be necessary to introduce regional language media in place of English, as secondary education in most parts of the country has now switched over from the English language medium to the medium of the regional language. This might entail a region-wise decentralisation of the entrance examination and, consequentially, a quota system. There are, however, very important distinctions between the adoption of the quota system for admission to training establishments and the adoption of such a system for purposes of actual recruitment to all-India services at the highest level of the administrative cadres, where the issue arises.

So far as the medium of examination for entrance to these training establishments is concerned, English and Hindi should be adopted with choice for either with reference to any or all the papers, and an expert Committee should be appointed to examine the practicability of introduction of regional languages as media without bringing in a quota system.

- 54 Having regard to the linguistic abilities that would be needed by members of the all-India and the central services in the future it would be legitimate in our view to introduce a compulsory paper in Hindi after due notice. In order that non-Hindi students may not be unduly handicapped in the transitional period, the paper may, to start with, be of a fairly low standard and treated as only a 'qualifying paper' and later on after due notice again it may be raised to the status of other compulsory papers as a 'marking' and fully competitive paper. Further, candidates having one of the South Indian languages as mother-tongue may be exempted from answering one or two stiffer questions in the Hindi paper which the

candidates whose mother-tongues are closer to Hindi may be required to answer.

- 55 To equate the Hindi candidates with the non-Hindi candidates, the former should be required to offer a paper, to be answered in their linguistic medium of the general examination, out of a variety of options including subjects of cultural interest bearing on South India and languages of the Eighth Schedule other than Hindi.

- 56 We do not see sufficient justification for the suggestion that the 'compensatory provision' for Hindi candidates should be that they must offer a paper in a regional language (or a South Indian language) other than Hindi.

- 57 Provision may be made for testing candidates for the all-India services examinations in English through specific papers even after the medium of the examination is changed to a different language or languages.

- 58 As regards the language medium for the combined competitive examination through which candidates are recruited for the all-India and the higher Central Services, the principal difficulty arises out of the fact that for obvious reasons it will be *prima facie* extremely difficult to attain satisfactory standards of 'moderation' if the competition is held in linguistic medium anything as numerous as the thirteen regional languages. If the number

As regards competitive examinations for the all-India and the higher Central Services, the Committee considers :

- (i) English should continue to be the medium of examinations, and Hindi may be admitted as an alternative medium after some time and both Hindi and English should be available as alternative media at the option of the candidates for as long as necessary.

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of linguistic media for the examination exceeds the limits of manageability with reference to satisfactory standards of moderation, quota system may become inevitable unless the character of the examination itself is changed.

A quota system would break up the character of the existing all-India services and would lead to a fragmentation of the all-India competition and to deterioration in the quality of recruits to the all-India as well as the higher Central services. Considering the present-day calls on the administrative personnel, we would strongly discountenance proposals leading to any such deterioration in the quality of the recruits to these services. In the case of the personnel of the all-India services, the chief consideration even from the point of view of each region exclusively regarding its own interest should be 'quality' and not proportionate share in the volume of employment. For like reasons quality is more important in the case of the higher Central Services as well than a proportionate region-wise distribution of the employment available.

On the subject of the linguistic medium of the competitive examination for these services we, therefore, conclude as under :—

- (a) So far as the all-India and Central Services are concerned (and this would apply, unless otherwise provided, also to other all-India services created hereafter), the alternative of the Hindi medium in addition to the existing English medium may be introduced after due notice. As and when other regional languages become a medium of instruction in the universities up to graduation stage as Hindi has done, the admission of other linguistic media will have to be considered.

(ii) After due notice, there should be two compulsory language papers of equal standard, one in Hindi, and another in a modern Indian language other than Hindi to be selected by the candidate.

(iii) There should be a compulsory paper in the English language even after the medium of examination is changed till English is completely replaced by Hindi for all official purposes.

(iv) An expert committee should be appointed to examine the feasibility of introducing the regional languages as media without bringing in a quota system.

Suitable standards will have to be laid down as to what degree of progress as a medium should have been made in university education in respect of any language before its eligibility as a linguistic medium for the competitive examination for recruitment to these services may be considered.

The medium of the English language may be continued as an alternative for as long as may be necessary : if, eventually, a position should arise when this alternative could be dispensed with, such dispensation should of course be made after a sufficiently long notice.

- (b) While 'moderation' might still be practicable so long as the number of linguistic media is manageable, having regard to the availability of examiners with suitable bilingual or multi-lingual qualifications, a stage might arrive when the admission of further linguistic media would be found impracticable.

Before such a stage is reached the Union and State Governments must take mutual counsel and decide whether, (1) they would accept a change in the scheme of recruitment to the all-India services or, in the alternative, (2) agree upon a limitation in the number of the linguistic media or (3) make other appropriate changes in the system of the examination.

- (c) We hope and trust that before the contingencies contemplated in (b) above eventuate, the progress of Hindi amongst non-Hindi-speaking university graduates generally would have advanced sufficiently to admit of their competing on equal terms with Hindi-speaking candidates at these examinations through the medium of the Hindi language :

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mittee of Parliament on
Official Language**

And until then, the availability of the English medium would give to such of the non-Hindi-speaking candidates as may need it an alternative sufficient to safeguard their legitimate interests :

Some of us entertain the hope that it would not, in the upshot, be necessary for the Union and State Governments to make the difficult choice presented by the alternatives in the last sub-paragraph of item (b) above.

- 59 As a measure of general encouragement to linguistic studies so badly needed in the special circumstances of this country, the concerned authorities should revise the list of optional subjects tenderable at the various Public Service Commission examinations and consider whether greater scope should not be allowed for the subjects of languages and literatures in the different Indian languages.

This may be accepted.

CHAPTER XIII

**PROPAGATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF HINDI AND REGIONAL
LANGUAGES**

- 60 Since the adoption of the Constitution, this work has assumed a different aspect and it is now necessary that this responsibility is 'sponsored' officially.

This may be accepted.

- 61 From what we have seen of the working of voluntary agencies in this field it appears to us that steps ought to be taken in the following directions for the more systematic organisation and expansion of the work of propagation of Hindi :

This may be accepted. It is felt that publication of some Hindi books in regional scripts would facilitate the learning of Hindi by adults in non-Hindi regions.

- (1) Co-ordination of work among the various agencies, and where necessary demarcation of their activities.
- (2) Survey of their requirements for the purpose of adequate expansion in their allotted fields of activity.

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- (3) The introduction of some measure of uniformity and comparability in standards of their examinations; and ensuring that proper methods are adopted and appropriate academic standards maintained in the conduct of the examinations.
- (4) Provision of aids for improvement of teaching methods and greater facilities for teachers' training.
- (5) Securing an appropriate and graded supply of suitable text books for the different regions of the country and for different categories of persons receiving Hindi instruction; supply of supporting reading matter and literature for the benefit of neo-literates and special classes of pupils, like children, women, etc.
- (6) Ancillary to the propagation of the Hindi language the provision of reading room and library facilities for those recently made literate in Hindi.

62 We recommend that the Central Government should make liberal financial assistance available to the voluntary agencies for enlarging and improving their activities in the various ways referred to above.

This may be accepted.

63 A greater and growing *rapprochement* amongst the various Indian languages and a wider understanding and comprehension of the varied cultural inheritance of India would be promoted by the encouragement of studies in the field of linguistics and philology; and such studies and research deserve every encouragement at the hands of the Union and State Governments.

This may be accepted. It is felt that encouragement should be given also to studies in the field of Indian literature.

Reform of the Devanagari Script

64 It is urgently necessary to finalise the type-writer key-board and authoritatively adopt reforms to be made in the Devanagari

The Committee agrees with this recommendation, and considers that early steps

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	script which can only be done on the leadership and under the auspices of the Centre.	should be taken to resolve the differences that have arisen lately over the de- cisions taken at the Luck- now Conference, 1953, regarding reform of the Devanagari script.

G. B. PANT
 FRANK ANTHONY*
 MATHURA PRASAD MISHRA
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 A. RAMASWAMI MUDALIAR
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 SWAMI RAMANANDA TIRTHA
 BUDH SINGH
 GURMUKH SINGH MUSAFIR
 BHAKT DARSHAN
 M. HIFZUR RAHMAN
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 H. N. MUKERJEE
 HARISH CHANDRA SHARMA*
 RAGHU VIRA*

* Subject to minute of dissent.

† Subject to a note.

MINUTES OF DISSENT AND NOTES RECORDED
BY MEMBERS

Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira.

Shri Harish Chandra Sharma.

Shri Prafulla Chandra Bhanj Deo.

Shri Purushottam Das Tandon

and

Seth Govind Das.

Shri Frank Anthony.

Shri Thakur Das Bhargava.

Note by Chairman—A few brief footnotes have been appended in accordance with the decision taken by the Committee on 28th November 1958, that if there was anything in the notes or minutes of dissent “which called for any comments, or needed to be explained in the light of the decisions taken by the Committee, the Chairman may take necessary action on behalf of the Committee”.

NOTE OF DISSENT BY PROF. DR. RAGHU VIRA

Registered A/D

Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira,
संसद्-सदस्य (राज्य-सभा)

Phone 34700
Hauz Khas Enclave,
P.O. Yusuf Sarai,
New Delhi-16,
October 5, 1958.*

The Secretary,
Committee of Parliament on Official Language,
Ministry of Home Affairs, Govt. of India,
New Delhi.

DEAR SIR,

I have read the Report and paid great consideration to the conclusions arrived at. As an humble patriot and as one who has devoted the best part of his life to the study of languages and linguistic problems, it is my duty to express myself clearly and unambiguously in the form of a Note of Dissent which is couched in strictly objective terms.

The Note of Dissent is attached herewith.

Yours sincerely,

RAGHU VIRA

(Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira)

*The draft Report of the Committee was circulated to Members on November 17, 1958. This letter with its enclosure was received in the Committee's Secretariat on November 28, 1958.

NOTE OF DISSENT

by

Prof. Dr. Raghu Vira, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., et.Phil., M.P.

Article 344 of the Constitution of India provides as follows:

“(2) It shall be the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President as to:

“(a) The progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union;

“(b) Restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union;

“(c) The language to be used for all or any of the purposes mentioned in article 348;

“(d) The form of numerals to be used for any one or more specified purposes of the Union;

“(e) Any other matter referred to the Commission by the President as regards the official language of the Union and the language for communication between the Union and a State or between one State and another and their use.

“(3) In making their recommendations under clause (2) the Commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India, and the just claims and interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services.”

I am deeply chagrined to note that the Commission and Parliamentary Committee have not done their duty in the positive way that they should have done but in a negative way, that is wholly opposed to the implicit and explicit intention of the Constitution. They have not made any recommendations for the progressive use of Hindi year after year for the official use of the Union. They have not put any restrictions on the use of the English language, not only for all purposes but even for any of the official purposes of the Union.

The Commission recommends:

“We do not recommend that any restrictions should be imposed for the present on the use of the English language for any of the purposes of the Union.”

“It has not been possible for us to furnish a regular time-table by dates and stages as to how Hindi should be introduced into the business of the Union so as to accomplish the general change over within the period fixed by the Constitution.”

The same has been endorsed by the Parliamentary Committee.

The drawing up of a plan of action has been left to the Government of India. The Commission had however indicated the pre-requisites and the sequence of the phasing of a plan of action. These prerequisites and the sequence of phasing are such that no start can be made in the matter of introducing Hindi for any purposes in the working of the Union before 1965.

The Commission having failed in its duty to recommend a course of action, it was the duty of the Parliamentary Committee to indicate in what spheres and how Hindi can replace English, and in what sphere it would be used in addition to English. But the Committee also having failed to do so, I feel it to be my duty as a patriot, to indicate what can and should be done:

(1) New entrants to all-India services from 1960 onwards be trained to carry on their work in Hindi.

(2) The medium of all-India competitive examinations be either Hindi or English at the choice of the candidate. The organization of the examinations be in such a manner that neither the lack of a proper knowledge of Hindi nor of English creates a disadvantage to the students of non-Hindi regions on one hand, and of Hindi regions on the other.

(3) From 1960 onwards 20% of the Central Secretariat should carry on its work in Hindi. Before it can commence its work in Hindi the officers should have one year's training from January to December, 1959. Each year 20% more officers be trained and put on to their jobs in Hindi. Thus by the end of 1964 the working of the Central Secretariat would have been changed over from English to Hindi.

A system of incentives and rewards be instituted for all those who take the training.

(4) Technical terms for law and administration have been collected and finalised by a Committee of the Parliament. These be taken over by the Government and utilised for their Central Secretariat work.

(5) Universities and Training Institutes should start the replacing of English by Hindi or regional media from the 1959-60 session with the first year students, who will continue their study in subsequent years through Hindi or regional languages. Thus by 1965 there would have been a complete changeover from English to Hindi or regional media.

In the all-India institutes the medium be Hindi.

Many English-Hindi dictionaries of technical terms are already available for university subjects. They can be utilised with great profit.

(6) The Centre should start from 1960 onwards conducting its relations with Hindi States in Hindi. Progressively it should do so with other States which in the first instance would have to maintain

translating officers for the purpose. There should be translating officers in the Centre also for dealing with any communications in regional languages.

(7) From 1960 onwards Bills should be introduced in Parliament in Hindi side by side with English. After 1965 bills should be introduced only in Hindi.

(8) A Commission* be appointed for translating all the past English enactments into Hindi. It is a long work and will take a long time. The staff should be large enough to prepare the complete translations in not more than ten years time.

(9) All the procedural literature† such as codes, manuals, hand-books, rules, and regulations be translated into Hindi by each department. Due arrangements and ample staff should be provided.

(10) For officers who are above 45 and who are unable after training to reach the due standard of efficiency, help in the form of a Hindi Assistant, be provided.

(11) From 1960 Hindi-knowing judges of the Supreme Court should deliver their judgements in Hindi. All English proceedings and judgements be translated into Hindi. 20% of the staff of the Supreme Court should be annually trained to do its work in Hindi so that by 1964 the offices of the Supreme Court would function in Hindi. Judges of the Supreme Court who are not able to shift over to the Hindi medium be permitted to deliver their judgements in English up till 1965. After 1965 help should be provided to the judges so that their judgements appear in Hindi only.

(12) From 1960 onwards Hindi be the language of the High Courts in Hindi regions, side by side with English, judges knowing Hindi delivering their judgments in Hindi. In non-Hindi States regional languages and Hindi be used after 1960, alongwith English. After 1965 English be entirely replaced by Hindi and regional languages. Where necessary, help may be provided to the judges in writing out their judgements in Hindi or regional languages.

(13) The form of numerals in Hindi be the Devanagari form. Past experience with railway time-tables and budgets has shown that the Devanagari forms are the proper vehicle for people using Hindi Panjabi, Marathi, and Gujarati. Artistically they are homogenous with the script. In the context of English or of South Indian languages, the English numerals may continue to be used. On coins and stamps both the Devanagari and English numerals may be continued to be used.

(14) The Constitution has laid stress on due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India. This advancement would be benefitted immensely by having recourse to Hindi and regional languages. The time that is now spent on English will be saved for teaching more mathematics, mechanics, chemistry, and physics. The workers will also be able to get a higher amount of knowledge through their mother-tongue. More persons would be

*The Committee's opinion is given in paragraph 52 at page 28 and at page 47 of the Report.

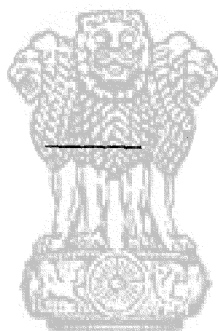
†A reference is invited in this connection to para. 30 at pages 15-16 of the Committee's report.

trained in less time. The technical literature which is now missing will be created and that by itself will mean a great advance. A language without technical literature of its own cannot deserve the name of a modern language and as long as we lean on English, there can be no customers for Indian literature.

Cultural advancement is not possible through a foreign tongue. Through our own languages we shall come nearer to each other.

(15) As regards the non-Hindi speaking areas it must be the endeavour of the Government to see that they are recruited in due number. If necessary, even quotas may be fixed either for non-Hindi entrants or a ceiling be fixed for Hindi entrants for a period of ten years.

RAGHU VIRA



सत्यमेव जयते

असहमति

बात शुरू मैं यहीं से कर सकता हूँ कि संसद् की राजभाषा समिति की रपट का मस-विदा मेरे पास अंग्रेजी में है। मतलब यह हुआ कि अगर मुझे अंग्रेजी न आती हो, तो समिति की सदस्यता मेरे लिये निरर्थक है। मुझे अंग्रेजी थोड़ी बहुत आती है—यूँ अच्छी अंग्रेजी इस देश में मुश्किल से सी-पचास लोगों को आती होगी—लेकिन हमें यह देखना होगा कि देश में कितने लोग ऐसे हैं जो अंग्रेजी समझ लेते हैं।

इस दृष्टि से राजभाषा का सवाल दरअसल हमारे राज्य और हमारी सरकार के चरित्र का सवाल है। एक बहुधा दुहराये जाने वाले वाक्य को उद्धृत करूँ तो लोकतंत्र “जनता की, जनता के द्वारा और जनता के लिये” चलने वाली सरकार को कहते हैं। मानवी सम्पर्क का मुख्य माध्यम भाषा है। जिसकी भाषा होगी, उसी की, उसी के द्वारा और उसी के लिये सरकार चलेगी। अंग्रेजी इस देश में किसकी भाषा है?

अंग्रेजी इस देश में किसी की* भाषा नहीं और अंग्रेजी जानने वाले भी इस देश में बहुत थोड़े हैं—एक फी सदी से भी कम। नतीजा बिल्कुल साफ जाहिर है कि जब तक अंग्रेजी इस देश की राजभाषा है, तब तक इस देश में लोकतंत्र पनप नहीं सकता। सरकार के काम में निग्यानवे फी सदी से ज्यादा लोग न कोई हिस्सा ले सकते हैं और न उसके काम को समझ ही सकते हैं। फलस्वरूप देश में एक बड़ा ही क्रूर मज्जाक चलता है—जैसे सामुदायिक विकास योजना की अंग्रेजी में छपी हुई प्रचार पुस्तिकाएँ।

मुझे अत्यधिक खेद है कि राजभाषा के प्रश्न के इस सबसे महत्वपूर्ण पहलू पर न तो राजभाषा कमीशन ने ही ध्यान दिया और न संसद् की राजभाषा समिति ने ही।

राजभाषा का प्रश्न अपने आप में ऐसा अलग-थलग भी नहीं है कि बिना उससे जुड़ी हुई अन्य समस्याओं पर ध्यान दिये ही उस पर फैसले किये जायें। संसदीय समिति ने तो इस प्रश्न पर राजभाषा कमीशन से भी अधिक संकुचित दृष्टि का परिचय दिया है जिसके फलस्वरूप उसकी सिफारिशें बिल्कुल बेमानी सी हैं।

समिति ने यह स्वीकार किया है कि देश में अंग्रेजी का स्तर गिर रहा है। लेकिन इस स्थिति के किसी पहलू पर ध्यान नहीं दिया सिवाय इसके कि धीरे धीरे अंग्रेजी में काम चलाना कठिन होता जायगा। यह बिल्कुल जड़ता का, निष्क्रियता का, निश्चय के अभाव का परिचायक दृष्टिकोण है। देश में आज हजारों नौजवान लड़के लड़कियों का भविष्य इस कारण

*१९५१ की जनगणना के अनुसार १, ७१, ७४२ जनों की मातृभाषा अंग्रेजी थी।

बिगड़ रहा है कि अंग्रेजी उन पर जबरदस्ती लादी जा रही है। मैंने १९५७-५८ में दिल्ली राज्य की हायर-सेकेन्डरी परीक्षा के फल देखे। कुल साढ़े चार सौ बच्चे केवल एक विषय में अनुत्तीर्ण थे और उनमें ढाई सौ से अधिक बच्चे यानी लगभग ६० फी सदी केवल अंग्रेजी में अनुत्तीर्ण थे। इन बच्चों की जिन्दगी में असफलता, निराशा और हीन भावना का अंधेरा लाने की जिम्मेदारी किस पर है? उन्हीं पर जो अंग्रेजी को राजभाषा बनाये रख कर अंग्रेजी को उन पर जबरदस्ती लादना चाहते हैं। और हमें याद रखना चाहिये कि दिल्ली में देश के हर राज्य के लोग काफी संख्या में रहते हैं और अंग्रेजी का इतना बोलबाला देश के किसी और हिस्से में नहीं है।

केवल प्रशासकीय दृष्टि से भी देखें तो इसके कई गम्भीर नतीजे निकलते हैं। (१) शासन में अकुशलता, और झूठ बढ़ता है। कर्मचारियों को जिस भाषा में काम करना पड़ता है, वह उन्हें आती नहीं, इसलिये अर्थ का अनर्थ हो जाता है। (२) आम जनता के साथ शासन का संबंध धोका धड़ी का हो जाता है, क्योंकि सरकारी कर्मचारी अपनी लिखी हुई भाषा को भी पूरी तरह नहीं समझ सकते और आम जनता के लिये तो यह भाषा ओझा पुजारियों के जादू-मन्त्र और टोना टोटका जैसी ही होती है। (३) भाषा का मुख्य उद्देश्य है कि एक आदमी की बात दूसरे लोग पढ़ सुन कर समझ लें। भाषा का ज्ञान अधूरा होने से यह काम नहीं हो पाता। इस से भ्रष्टाचार भी बढ़ता है।

मेरा यह निश्चित मत है कि देश का शासन वास्तव में लोकतांत्रिक हो, और जनता से उसका निकट सम्पर्क हो इसके लिये जरूरी है कि सरकारी काम काज में तत्काल हिन्दी और अन्य क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं का उपयोग होना चाहिये। ज्यादातर सरकारी काम काज ऐसे हैं जिन्हें फौरन हिन्दी में और अन्य क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं में करने में कोई दिक्कत पेश नहीं आयेगी। कानूनों का और वैज्ञानिक शब्दावलियों का अनुवाद करने में कुछ समय लग सकता है। लेकिन अगर ईमानदारी के साथ चेष्टा की जाये तो उसमें भी एक साल से अधिक समय नहीं लगना चाहिये। विश्वविद्यालयों के द्वारा यह काम बहुत जल्दी और अच्छी तरह कराया जा सकता है। मैं समिति की इस राय से सहमत हूँ कि यह काम केन्द्रीय सरकार की देख रेख में होना चाहिये और चेष्टा होनी चाहिये कि कानून और विज्ञान के विशिष्ट शब्द देश की हर भाषा में एक ही हों।

समिति ने अपनी रपट में अकारण ही विज्ञान को अंग्रेजी के साथ जोड़ दिया है - जैसे बिना अंग्रेजी के विज्ञान की प्रगति हो ही न सकती हो। स्थिति बिल्कुल इसके विपरीत है। जिन देशों की मातृभाषा अंग्रेजी है, उन्हें छोड़ दें, तो विज्ञान की प्रगति उन्हीं देशों में हुई है जो अपनी मातृभाषा का प्रयोग करते हैं। फ्रान्स, जर्मनी, रूस, जापान कौन देश ऐसा है जहां अंग्रेजी चलती है? और इनमें जर्मनी और रूस की विज्ञान की देन बहुत अधिक है, इनसे अधिक किसी और देश की नहीं। हिन्दुस्तान में भी विज्ञान की प्रगति अगर हो सकती है तो मातृभाषा के माध्यम से ही।

शिक्षा भी, अगर उसका मतलब सिर्फ अंग्रेजी की भढ़ी और बेहूदा नकल करना नहीं है, तो मातृभाषा में होनी चाहिये !

मेरा मत है कि १ : सभी राज्य सरकारों को अपना काम काज अपनी क्षेत्रीय भाषा में करना चाहिये ।

२ : केन्द्रीय सरकार को अपना काम काज हिन्दी में करना चाहिये । केन्द्रीय सरकार के जो दफ्तर अहिन्दी भाषा क्षेत्रों में हों, वहां उनका अन्य सभी काम हिन्दी में और जनता से सम्बन्धित काम उस क्षेत्र की भाषा में होना चाहिये ।*

३ : उच्च न्यायालयों का और सर्वोच्च न्यायालय का काम हिन्दी में होना चाहिये और जहां आवश्यक हो क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं में अनुवाद की व्यवस्था होनी चाहिये ।

४ : विश्वविद्यालयों में पढ़ाई और परीक्षा का माध्यम क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं को बनाना चाहिये । स्नातकोत्तर शिक्षा के लिये इस बात की कोशिश होनी चाहिये कि जितनी जल्दी हो सके हिन्दी का इतना काफी प्रसार और प्रचार हो जाये कि स्नातकोत्तर शिक्षा हिन्दी के माध्यम से दी जाये ।

५ : अगर कोई राज्य केन्द्रीय सरकार के साथ अपने पत्र व्यवहार को अपनी क्षेत्रीय भाषा में ही करना चाहे तो उसे इसकी अनुमति होनी चाहिये । अगर कोई राज्य अपने क्षेत्र के उच्च न्यायालय का काम अपनी क्षेत्रीय भाषा में चलाना चाहे, तो उसे इसकी भी अनुमति होनी चाहिये ।†

इन कामों के दो पहलू ऐसे हैं जिन पर विचार करना आवश्यक है । एक तो अनुवाद का प्रश्न है । क्षेत्रीय भाषाओं और हिन्दी के बीच अनुवाद की पर्याप्त व्यवस्था करनी चाहिये, जो कुछ भी कठिन काम नहीं है । इस के साथ ही अंग्रेजी जानने वाले लोग जो आज देश की छाती पर बोझ बने हुये हैं, देशीय भाषाओं में अंग्रेजी पुस्तकों और साहित्य का अनुवाद करके देश के लिये कुछ उपयोगी सिद्ध हो सकते हैं ।

दूसरा प्रश्न इस बात का है कि केन्द्रीय सरकार की भाषा हिन्दी हो जाने से अहिन्दी भाषी क्षेत्रों के लोगों को केन्द्रीय सरकार की नौकरियों में जाने में असुविधा

*इस सम्बन्ध में समिति की राय पृष्ठ ३४ सिकारिश संख्या १२ में है ।

†इस विषय पर समिति की राय पृष्ठ ४४ सिकारिश संख्या ३८ में दी गई है ।

का अनुभव हो सकता है। इसका एक उपाय तो समिति की सिफारिशों में ही निहित है कि केन्द्रीय नौकरियों के लिये जो परीक्षाएँ होती हैं उनमें अहिन्दी भाषियों के लिये हिन्दी का और हिन्दी भाषियों के लिये किसी अन्य देशीय भाषा का एक अनिवार्य परीक्षा पत्र हो। और दोनों ही परीक्षा पत्रों का स्तर एक ही हो। अर्थात् अहिन्दी भाषियों के लिये जिस स्तर का हिन्दी ज्ञान आवश्यक हो, हिन्दी भाषियों के लिये उसी स्तर का किसी अन्य देशीय भाषा का ज्ञान आवश्यक हो।

इसके अतिरिक्त अगर आवश्यक हो, तो केन्द्रीय नौकरियों में हिन्दी भाषियों का अनुपात भी एक निश्चित समय के लिये बांधा जा सकता है। उदाहरण के लिये यह फैसला किया जा सकता है कि दस साल तक केन्द्रीय नौकरियों में हिन्दी भाषी क्षेत्रों के लोग २० या २५ प्रतिशत से अधिक नहीं लिये जायेंगे। इससे अहिन्दी भाषी क्षेत्रों की आशंका भी दूर हो जाती है और केन्द्रीय नौकरियों का अखिल भारतीय चरित्र भी नहीं बदलता।

मेरी यह भी निश्चित राय है कि राजभाषा के प्रश्न पर मूल नीति का निर्णय संसद को स्वयं करना चाहिये और विस्तार की बातों का फैसला सरकार पर छोड़ा जा सकता है। इस सम्बन्ध में संसद के फैसलों को कार्यान्वित करने में सरकार को सलाह देने और समय समय पर कार्य में हुई प्रगति की रपट संसद को देने के लिये संसद की एक राजभाषा समिति का निर्माण उचित होगा। इसी प्रकार की समितियाँ राज्य विधान सभाओं में बनाना भी वांछनीय है।

सत्यमेव जयते

हरिश्चन्द्र शर्मा
१-१२-५८

ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE MINUTE OF DISSENT

by

SHRI HARISH CHANDRA SHARMA

I begin my note with the observation that the draft of the report of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language before me is in English. This means that if I did not know English, there was no use my being a member of the Committee. I know a little of English—in fact very few persons may be knowing English well in this country—but what we have to see is how many people in this country understand English.

Viewed from this angle, the question of official language is in fact a question of our national character and that of our Government. To quote an oft-repeated sentence, democracy is the government "of the people, by the people and for the people". Language is the main medium of human communication. Government should function for the people through their language, whatever be their language. Whose language is English in this country?

English is not the language* of any one in this country and there are very few people—even less than 1%—who know English. The result is quite apparent that so long as English is the official language of this country, democracy cannot prosper here. More than 99% of the people can neither take any part in, nor understand, the affairs of the Government. As the result of this, a very bitter joke is being perpetrated in the country—for instance, the printing in English of the propaganda literature relating to the Community Development Project.

I regret very much that neither the Official Language Commission nor even the Committee of Parliament on Official Language paid attention to this most important aspect of the official language question.

The official language question is not in itself such an isolated one that decisions can be taken on it without taking into consideration other connected issues. The Parliamentary Committee has taken a rather more conservative view than even the Official Language Commission, and consequently its recommendations are hardly of any significance.

The Committee has accepted that the standard of English is falling in the country. But no attention has been paid to the various aspects of this question except that by and by it will become more and more difficult to do the work in English. This approach is indicative of insensibility, inaction and lack of determination. The future of thousands of our young boys and girls is being marred because English is being thrust upon them. I saw the results of the Delhi State Higher Secondary School Examination, 1957-58. As many as 450 children failed in only one subject, and out of these more than 250 children, i.e. nearly 60%, had failed in English. Who is responsible for bringing failure, disappointment and dejection into the lives

*According to the census of 1951, English was the mother tongue of 1,71,742 persons.

of these children? The responsibility obviously rests on those who want to force English upon them by retaining it as the official language. And, we should remember that in Delhi reside a good number of people from every State in the country, and English does not occupy such a prominent position in any other part of India as here.

It has serious consequences even if we look at it from only the administrative point of view.

(1) Inefficiency and dishonesty increase in the administration. The employees have not adequate knowledge of the language in which they have to work and consequently much harm is done.

(2) The dealings of government with the general public become deceptive because the government servants do not fully understand even their own written language and for the general public, this becomes almost a mystery.

(3) The main purpose of language is that people may understand each other when talking or reading. This purpose is not achieved, if the knowledge of the language is inadequate. This increases corruption also.

It is my firm opinion that in order that the administration of the country may be really a democratic one and its contact with the public may be closer, it is necessary that Hindi and other regional languages should be used with immediate effect in the official work. Most of the official work is such as can be done with immediate effect in Hindi and other regional languages without any difficulty. The translation of statutes and evolution of scientific terminology may take some time, but if sincere efforts are made, even this work should not take more than one year. This work can be got done by the Universities very quickly and satisfactorily. I agree with the view of the Committee that this work should be carried out under the supervision of the Central Government and efforts should be made to see that the legal and scientific terms are uniform in all the languages in the country.

In its report the Committee has without any reason linked science with English as if without English, science cannot progress. The position is just the reverse. If English speaking countries are excluded, science has progressed in only those countries which use their own mother-tongue. In which country among France, Germany, Russia, Japan, is English used? And among these, the contribution of Germany and Russia to scientific advancement is very great, greater than that of any other country. In India, if scientific progress can be made, it can only be through the medium of the mother-tongue.

Education too, if it does not mean just an ugly and vulgar imitation of the English, should be through the mother-tongue.

My opinion is that—

(1) All the State Governments should do their work in their respective regional languages.

(2) The Central Government should do its work in Hindi. Such of the Central Government offices as are located in non-Hindi areas,

should use the respective regional languages in their dealings with the public and do all other work in Hindi.*

(3) The High Courts and the Supreme Court should function in Hindi, and wherever necessary arrangements should be made for translation into the regional languages.

(4) In the Universities, the medium of instruction and examination should be the regional language. As regards post-graduate education, efforts should be made to see that Hindi is widely propagated as soon as possible so that post-graduate education is imparted through the medium of Hindi.

(5) If any State Government wants to carry on its correspondence with the Union Government in its regional language, this should be permitted. Also, if any State Government wants that its High Court should function in the regional language, this too should be permitted.†

Two aspects of these matters are such as need consideration. One is the question of translation. Adequate arrangements should be made for translation from Hindi to regional languages and *vice versa*. This is not at all a difficult task. Along with this, English knowing people who are at present a burden to the country can prove to be of some use by translating English books and literature into regional languages.

The second question is that Hindi having become the official language of the Union, the people belonging to non-Hindi speaking areas may experience difficulty in entering Central Services. One solution to this is already implied in the recommendations of the Committee that in the examinations that are held for recruitment to the Central Services, there should be a compulsory paper in Hindi for non-Hindi speaking candidates, and a compulsory paper in some other regional language for Hindi-speaking candidates and the standard of both these language papers should be the same, i.e. the standard of linguistic ability that is required of a Hindi-speaking candidate in the other regional language should be the same as is required of a non-Hindi-speaking candidate in Hindi. Besides this, if necessary, a maximum quota can be fixed for a specified period for Hindi-speaking candidates in the Central Services. For example, it can be laid down that for ten years not more than 20 or 25% of the vacancies in the Central Services will be offered to people from Hindi-speaking areas. This will allay the fears of the non-Hindi-speaking regions, and the all-India character of the Central Services will also be maintained.

I am also of the definite opinion that on the question of official language, the basic policy should be decided by Parliament itself and decisions regarding details can be left to the Government. To advise the Government in the implementation of the decisions of Parliament in this respect and to report to Parliament from time to time on the progress made, it will be appropriate to constitute an Official Language Committee of Parliament. Similar Committees of the State Legislatures may also be constituted.

HARISH CHANDRA SHARMA

1-12-1958

*The Committee's opinion is given at page 34 of the Report.

†Reference is invited to the Committee's opinion on recommendation 38 at page 44.

New Delhi,
5th December, 1958.

MINUTE OF DISSENT

by

SHRI PRAFULLA CHANDRA BHANJ DEO

I endorse the general trend of opinion in the Committee that Hindi should replace English as the Official Language.

But, as this is no more than barren reiteration of 'factum' already established by the Constitution of the Republic of India and marks no progress through the deliberations of this Committee, I have felt it to be my duty to express my views of dissent independently in a note, which I desire should be incorporated in the final report of these recommendations.

Every nationally minded citizen cannot but hope for the speedy replacement of the universally accepted language of the soil (because the Constitution of India is the unanimous decision of the representatives of all parts and opinions in this land) for a foreign tongue. It is my view, that the process of independence is not complete without the early realisation of this ideal. It is a matter of some disappointment to me and I feel that it will be so to those who appreciate its significance in the general interest, that the deliberations of this Committee have not contributed anything positively towards the furtherance of this aim.

The provision of Serial 22 in the recommendations to the President is not worded happily enough, in my view, to enable it to elicit my conscientious approval of its wording in the national interest. Our desire to safeguard the spirit of the Constitution is embodied in Tandonji's proposal, which reads as follows:

"The Committee is of opinion that the Government may kindly place before it their views in regard to the steps to be taken in respect of the progressive use of Hindi with a view to replacing English by Hindi ultimately. The Committee is also of the opinion that the programme of work so placed by the Government may be considered by it in conjunction with the proposals of other members of the Committee in regard thereto."

This proposal as opposed to that of Mr. Murthy's proposal which lacks the important provisos italicised above, we considered to be the minimum requisite to secure some certainty in the early materialization of Hindi as the official language. This was outvoted.

Nor has the attitude of the Government of India been of much help to ease our fears and suspicions in this direction. Over eight years have passed since the Constitution came into force. Even to-day, English predominates both on the governmental plane as well as in the sphere of private and social conduct. As matters stand, it is too much to expect the translation of our long-cherished hope into action within the life-time of a few generations, thanks to the utter indifference and lack of a sense of proportion of those who are responsible for framing the policy of this Republic. To me, it seems to be a strange disregard in the appreciation of priorities in which preoccupation with social and political problems of the

country are put forth as an excuse for lack of attention to all-India linguistic problems, when this very fact lies at the bottom of the solution of all our problems. It goes without much saying that the rapid development of an all-India official language is the necessary concomitant for developing united national thought, attitudes and outlooks and so constitutes the ground-work for the satisfactory solution of most of our problems, whether they belong to the realm of Food and Agriculture or to questions of Education and Literacy-drives.

But in the light of the poor response of the Union Government to this important matter up till now, I feel, that the Committee has not done well in exonerating the government of their duty to place their views both as regards plans and an early time limit for the use of Hindi with a view to replacing English by that language ultimately and subjecting these proposals to the review of the Committee along with due consideration of the suggestions of other members of the Committee on this item, according to the accepted recommendation No. 22 in the recommendations. The indecision of the Government in this matter seems but to betray their inclination to shelve such issues. They (the Government) are also susceptible to various influences—both political and otherwise; hence by its unqualified support of recommendation No. 22, I feel, the Committee has done no service in enabling the Government to expedite the work of replacing English by Hindi within any foreseeable period of time. On the other hand, had the Government applied themselves to the recommendation of the Official Language Commission and prepared a vigorous plan of action embodying a clear time limit for the early replacement of English by Hindi, public sympathy and appeal to this firm decision would have been, I believe, quite different from the inevitable reaction that the cold and hesitant attitude of the Centre has created in West Bengal and in a part of the Madras State, in such a momentous affair of national interest. This becomes all the more pointed when we take into consideration the fact that the younger generation of India is studying Hindi ardently and that in a few years' time it will have no difficulty whatsoever, in understanding and expressing itself clearly and concisely in a common linguistic medium best suited to national aspirations and sentiments.

Serial 20 of the Recommendations of the Committee is definitely retrograde, both in letter and in spirit, and is of the nature of a reflection on the mental ability of our citizens above forty-five. I am an Oriya. I did not read Hindi but have taught myself Hindi and Urdu, after the age of forty-five, because I was firmly convinced that it is in India's interest that Hindi should be the official language of the country and that as such that language should be learnt as one's own by every patriotic citizen of the Republic. Where there is a will there is a way. To-day, I consider my Hindi linguistic ability to be as good as that of any Indian belonging to the Hindi linguistic area. I cannot agree with this recommendation as I do not consider any of my countrymen to whichever part of India he may belong to be inferior to me in mental or linguistic ability. It is the bounden duty of every nationalistic Indian, in my opinion, to learn the official language of the Republic to the best of

his ability, to whatever age-group he or she may belong. The original recommendation of the Commission is far more acceptable to me than the retrograde view and sentiment expressed in the recommendation of the Committee. As such I can never support this recommendation of the Committee but can only express my sincere wish in this respect that the original recommendation of the Commission which is moderate enough should not have been further watered down.

Serial 21 of the original recommendation of the Commission itself is quite unwarranted in the present circumstances. I will not say much on this matter, as other dissenting members of the Committee will be saying a great deal, I hope, about it. I respectfully beg to differ from the Committee in that this recommendation of the Commission should be accepted by the President of India without any change—or expressed exception.

With respect to the recommendation of the Committee with regard to the conduct of examinations in Hindi for recruitment to the Central services, it is my opinion that the Committee has not modified sufficiently the original recommendation of the Commission by definite statement of the fact that a high degree of proficiency is essential and will have to be insisted upon for maintaining the standard of our services. A mere qualifying test cannot be of much value and is bound to reflect on the standard of these services sooner or later. For recruitment to the Central Services, it is my view, that applicants should be examined only in Hindi, the official language of the country, and there seems to be no point in conducting tests in the regional language for this as well.

To the recommendation of the Committee in connection with the procedure to be adopted by the President for the change of clause (2) of Article 348 of the Constitution to enable judgments, decrees and orders of High Courts, to enable the optional passing of such judgments, decrees and orders in Hindi, it is unfortunate that "other official languages of the States" have been tacked on—as the original recommendation of the Commission, No. 38—judged the situation more correctly when they said "there are several strong and, in our opinion, conclusive reasons in favour of deciding that when the time for the change-over arrives, the language of the judgments, decrees and orders of the High Courts *must* be in the Hindi language in all regions". It is in this spirit that all action should be taken to facilitate an early change-over smoothly. In the same manner, during the transition period official enactments and central and provincial legislation should be carried out both in English and in Hindi. Suitable Hindi translation of the Statute Book in Hindi should be undertaken from now in right earnest. A comprehensive legal lexicon should be compiled by an Expert Committee without delay, consisting of not only legal experts from all regions but also of specialists in Philology, Linguistics and the Cultural History of India. It is also necessary that the Government should indicate an approximate time limit for the completion of this work. Otherwise, it is bound to result in delay and procrastination which become the cause of much complaint and confusion.

I also do not see any practical force in the argument that the propagation and development of Hindi in non-Hindi-speaking areas should be left *only* to non-official agencies.* (Serials 60-61 of the Recommendations of the Committee). I would like, therefore, to modify this by urging strongly that in addition to the propagation work of non-official agencies, under proper control and directions, the work of propagation of Hindi in non-Hindi-speaking areas, should increasingly and zealously be undertaken by the Central Government itself and if necessary, suitable legislation should be brought forward to this effect, expeditiously, after consultations with the State Governments.

When suitable Hindi equivalents are not available, in the scientific and technical fields, the prevailing English and internationally accepted terms may be adopted with suitable modifications, *temporarily*. Tentative Hindi equivalents, compiled carefully by philologists and specialists, should be given in brackets invariably, so that as time passes, these can be largely understood and employed by the new generation. In this respect, the opposition to the coining of scientific and technical terms in our language, for the exactness of ideas, is ill-founded and illogical. It is based largely on the unfamiliarity of the opponents of our own languages, both ancient and modern—and the high standard of development attained by our country in science, logic and mathematics.

Regarding recommendations Nos. 28, 29 and 30 of the Committee, I have had the advantage of reading the observations of Shri Purushottam Das Tandon Mahoday, M.P., and am in full agreement with his observations on this subject. I would only like to observe in this matter that I would be willing to support the change of these into Roman form, provided one uniform *phonetic* script (as opposed to the monstrosity of dots and dashes evolved by certain learned institutions) were adopted after consultation with experts both at home and abroad, not only for Hindi but for all the other languages of India, to further facilitate publication and the unity of our peoples. But as the question in connection with this does not arise in the present context, I think, it will be in the best interest of the nation that the 'Devanagari' form of numerals be straightaway adopted for all official purposes without further tinkering on this item.

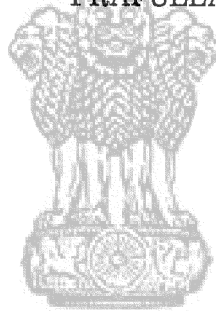
Last but not least, I come to recommendation No. 52 of the Committee. Here too, national interests have been sacrificed to placate sectional opinion and I, for one, cannot condone such concession as the early materialization of India united throughout the Republic in word, thought and deed, is a matter of principle with me. So I must beg to differ as to the wisdom of the majority opinion in this matter in adopting the expression 'suitable steps' for our originally suggested 'early steps' and 'speedy steps', which I and other friends considered and still consider to be more appropriate and more justified in the perspective in which we have been called by Parliament to make these recommendations to the President. The Committee were over-anxious to consider the views of West Bengal and a section of Madras sympathetically, and seemed to execute business under the impression that these constituted the only non-Hindi

*The Committee's opinion is given in para. 40 at page 23 of the Report.

speaking areas in the land. It is a presumption to which I cannot subscribe as one born and bred in a non-Hindi speaking State. The Ashoka Chakra, which is the symbol of Indian unity to-day, was forged in Orissa (my State) many centuries ago when Asoka was changed from 'Candasoka' to 'Dharmasoka' by the self-sacrifice and valour of the people of Kalinga. It is in that light that I have moulded my attitudes and opinions and have tried to serve the cause of Indian unity as a son of Orissa. My views have been motivated by the fact that as an inhabitant of Orissa State in free and united India, it is not because I love Orissa less but because I love India more, that I pen these words of disagreement so that I too may contribute my small quota to the cause we are all pledged to maintain and further.

किम्बहुना वित्तु

PRAFULLA CHANDRA BHANJ DEO



सत्यमेव जयते

NOTE BY SHRI PURUSHOTTAM DAS TANDON AND SETH GOVIND DAS

We are not satisfied with the report of the majority of members of this Committee. We feel that it is necessary that we should express our views on certain points in a separate note, which should be a part of the Report of the Committee as a whole.

We have watched with anxious hope the working of the language policy of the Government of India since the inception of the Constitution and our feeling is that they have shown a lack of thought in bringing about conditions for the change-over from the English language to Hindi in the affairs of the Union.

Nine years are about to elapse since the Constitution came into force and even now English though confined to a few, is the dominating language not only in the open forums but in the bye-ways of public and social life in Delhi and the larger towns, particularly those which are the seats of State Governments. The result is that there is apathy and indifference among the masses to what goes on among the English-using Section in the name of Administration or Planning and Development. This condition should not have been allowed to exist or continue if those who are responsible for moulding the policies of the Union Government had appreciated what a large part language has in rousing the potentialities of a Nation. Even now our Committee is making pro-English recommendations under the influence of the atmosphere created by the Central Government. About propagating and spreading the use of the Hindi language which the Constitution has accepted as the official language of the Union, the recommendations of the Committee are on the whole halting and unsatisfactory. They have even watered down some of the important recommendations of the language Commission, over-cautious and conservative as these recommendations were in suggesting changes in the present set-up.

We now give below our views on some of the recommendations of the Commission and this Committee.

LANGUAGE IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

We first take up item No. 21 of the Commission's recommendations in which they say that they do not recommend that any restrictions should be imposed for the present on the use of the English Language for any of the purposes of the Union. The majority report of the Committee has accepted this recommendation. We are unable to agree with this. There are certain Union matters in which the continuance of the use of English is obviously unreasonable and unjustifiable and in which restrictions on its use are very necessary. We take the case of Class IV employees of the various departments of the Central Government including Railways and autonomous or semi-autonomous bodies. These employees are spread all over the country. All communications

to these class IV employees are, as a rule, made in English. In cases where an employee is charged with negligence or dereliction of duty, the charge-sheet is delivered to him in English and he is expected to tender his explanation in English. This is very unfair, since literacy in this class of employees is everywhere limited to a meagre knowledge of the local language and English is unknown to them except perhaps in a very few cases. We recommend that immediate directions should be issued that all communications addressed to class IV employees should be either in the accepted language of the State to which the employee belongs or in Hindi.

Similarly all communications addressed by the Central Departments to individuals, except those who send their communications in English, should be in the language of the State or in Hindi. Particularly when any individual or firm or body writes in Hindi or a State language to a central department, replies should invariably be made in Hindi or the State language; in no case in English.

We are also of the opinion that the self-respect of our Country requires that the credentials given to our Ambassadors for presentation to rulers and dignitaries in foreign countries should always be in the Hindi Language, never in English.

We now take up Item 22. This relates to a plan of action with a time table, indicating dates and stages, which the language commission were expected to prepare for the guidance of the various departments of the Government of India in bringing about the changeover from English to Hindi. The Commission said that they had not had the benefit of a provisional plan of action by the Government of India, that they had 'therefore indicated the pre-requisites', but that 'the actual drawing up of a plan of action' had been left to the Government of India themselves.

It was on several occasions urged in meetings of the Committee by several members that the Government might now place before the Committee their plan of action in regard to the progressive introduction of Hindi so that members could consider it and make their own proposals also. It was also urged that the Secretariat of the Committee might itself under the direction of the Chairman prepare such a plan and place it before the Committee. The Deptt. of Home Affairs, of which the Chairman of the Committee is in charge as a Minister, would naturally have a hand in bringing about the change-over from English to Hindi and it would require a plan for its own use. No plan was, however, placed before the Committee. This unwillingness on the part of the Government of India to place a plan of action either before the Commission or before this committee was unfortunate. Apparently the Government did not wish to commit themselves to any planned programme. We can only express a hope that the haphazard policy, which has been marked by apathy, during the last nearly nine years will not be continued and will be replaced by purposeful action.

We now take up items 28 to 30 read with para. 54 (Chapter III, Part I, Section IV) of the Committee's Report, relating to the *form of Numerals to be used in Hindi*.

We have always regarded it as an act of shortsightedness on the part of the Constituent Assembly that, while adopting Hindi in Devanagari Characters, as the official language of the Union, it substituted the English form of numerals, giving it the name of International form of Indian numerals, for the ancient and well-known Sanskrit numerals used for centuries not only in Sanskrit and in Hindi but also in Marathi, Gujarati and Punjabi—other forms evolved by other Sanskritic languages being closely allied to this Sanskrit form.

While adopting the so-called international form the Constitution, however, laid down that the President, for a period of 15 years from the commencement of the Constitution may by order authorise the use of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals for any of the official purposes of the Union. After 15 years Parliament may by law make a provision for the use of the Devanagari form of numerals for purposes which may be specified.

This saving clause has somewhat mitigated the mistake of introducing the English form (under the garb of international form) of numerals for use in Hindi written for purposes of the Union.

Thus what has actually been done in these nearly nine years, is that in most of the Hindi publications of the Government of India Devanagari numerals have been used, though a few departments have used the English numerals also in some of their Hindi reports.

The Railway Time Table furnishes a good instance of what the people want in the matter of numerals. Sticking strictly to the governing provision of the Constitution and ignoring the saving clause and the actual requirement of the people, the Railway Authorities, when they published their first time table in Hindi shortly after the adoption of the Constitution, used English numerals for showing timings etc. against the background of Devanagari letters. Obviously this time table could not be used by the large number of persons who knew Hindi, but were ignorant of English. For the English knowing class there was, of course, the English Time Table. The Time Table in Devanagari Characters, intended for use by Hindi and Marathi knowing persons, could not serve its purpose by reason of the English numerals. This appears to have been appreciated by the Railway Authorities. The Hindi Time Table published afterwards began to use the Devanagari numerals and dropped the English ones. This is the present practice. The Hindi Time Table became naturally popular and is in great demand.

The Railway Department and the Finance Department have also shown their appreciation of the correct position by using Devanagari numerals for their large Budget volumes in Hindi, annually placed by them before the Parliament.

There is, as a matter of fact, no sense in using English numerals in Hindi publications when they are mere translations or abstracts of the original English matter.

Till 1965 or till Parliament by law decide otherwise, all statistical or technical figure work is to continue in English as a matter of

course. Therefore in Hindi versions of some of such work the use of English numerals is meaningless and can only lead to diminish the utility of the publications by not being intelligible to those who do not know English.

We think that after 1965 the whole question of the use of English and of Devanagari numerals will have to be considered *anew* in the light of the conditions then prevailing.

LANGUAGE OF LEGISLATION

In regard to items 33 and 34 relating to the language of legislation our recommendation is that all Bills introduced in Parliament, which are to continue to be in English till 1965, should be accompanied by Hindi translations authorised by the Law Department. This is necessary not only in the interest of the public but also in the interest of those members of Parliament who, not being sufficiently conversant with English, cannot properly understand the provisions of the Bills in English.

All the Acts of Parliament will necessarily have to be translated into Hindi. If the Bills, as recommended above, are translated into Hindi at the time of their introduction, an authorised Hindi version of the Act can be available simultaneously with the Act in English*.

The Law Department has already brought out Hindi Translations of some Acts of the Central Legislature. We recommend that steps should be immediately taken to give these translations equal authority with the original statute. An authoritative version in Hindi of the whole statute-book should also become available within three years. The implementation of our recommendations will require a considerable strengthening of the Hindi section of the Law Department.

So far as the State legislatures are concerned, arrangements should be made with the States for bringing out authorised Hindi versions of their enactments.

LANGUAGE OF LAW COURTS

Regarding items 35 to 39 we wish to add to what the Committee has said that the High Courts in Hindi states may be asked to lead the way towards Hindi by dispensing with the translation of the evidence into English and by permitting advocates to address judges, with their consent, in Hindi and allowing miscellaneous applications and affidavits to be filed in Hindi.

Arrangements should also be made early to bring out authorised translations of important judgments of the Supreme Court and the High Courts†. This work can be entrusted to a Central Office in Delhi working under the supervision of the Law Department.

PUBLIC SERVICES EXAMINATIONS

We wish now to say a few words in regard to the use of Hindi in examinations and training classes for public services.

*The Committee's opinion is given at pages 42-43 and in paragraphs 44 and 45 at pages 24-25 of the Report.

†The Committee's opinion is given at pages 43-44 and in paragraphs 46 to 50 at pages 25 to 28 of the Report.

In item 51 of their recommendations the Commission say that the linguistic medium of the competitive examinations should be generally in keeping with the media of instruction in the education system.

This is a principle which we think should be generally accepted. We do not agree with the view expressed in the majority report of the Committee that this recommendation may be dropped.

Regarding items 52 and 53 we agree with the majority's view that for admission to the training establishments English and Hindi should, for the present, be adopted as the media of examinations with choice for either with reference to any or all of the papers. But we thoroughly disagree with them in their recommendation that the medium of instruction in the training establishments should continue to be English alone for some time. They say in a lukewarm way that 'Suitable steps should, however, be taken to introduce Hindi as a medium for all or some of the purposes of instruction'. We proposed to the Committee that the word 'Early' should qualify the word 'Steps' but our proposal was not accepted and the word 'Suitable' was substituted. That shows what is the value to be attached to this suggestion. The substantial desire seems to be that English should alone continue as the medium of instruction for as long as possible. We think that this is a short-sighted, unprogressive and unpatriotic view. The boys to be admitted to these training institutions will mostly be of the ages of 15 to 18 years and the medium of their elementary and secondary education will be the language of the State. Their knowledge of English will generally be poor. There is no point in insisting on English alone as the medium. We are of the opinion that Hindi should at once be accepted as the chief medium of instruction in these institutions and English may also remain as an alternative medium for sometime.

As regards items 54 to 58 relating to the linguistic medium of the competitive examinations for the all-India and the higher central services, we think that the main recommendations of the Commission in their report (made more than twenty-eight months ago), that the alternative of the Hindi medium in addition to the existing English medium may be introduced after due notice, should have been implemented soon after it was made. Anyhow there is no justification for postponing the implementation further, since in several universities a very large number of students have graduated within the last nearly four years with Hindi or a State language as the medium of their University examinations and their knowledge of English is not sufficient to enable them to use the English language for their answers in competitive examinations. If English is retained for the present as a medium for the higher competitive examinations, it would be only an act of bare justice that the alternative of the Hindi medium should be permitted to those students who desire it.

To our mind the majority view of the Committee regarding these examinations that 'English should continue to be the medium of examinations and Hindi may be admitted as an alternative

medium after some time' is unfair to and discriminates against students who prefer Hindi to English as the medium of their education. Our proposal that Hindi should be accepted as an alternative medium alongwith English, was not accepted by the majority. They desire to put off the introduction of Hindi as an alternative medium and to allow it 'after some time'. This is likely to lead to inaction for a long period. Our definite recommendation is that for the competitive examinations of 1959 which are likely to be held sometime in September in that year, Hindi should be permitted as a medium alongwith English and an announcement to this effect should be made before the end of March, 1959.

We agree that to equate Hindi students with students having other languages as their mother-tongues there should be two compulsory language papers of equal standard prescribed for these examinations, one in Hindi and the other in a modern Indian language other than Hindi to be selected by the candidate.

PROPOSAL FOR A HINDI MINISTRY

In the end we wish to say that in order that the recommendations of the Commission and our Committee, including our own, may be carried out without unnecessary delay and the whole question of bringing about necessary linguistic changes by stages may be given proper thought and pursued with concentrated attention, it is necessary that a separate Hindi Ministry may be created which will act in co-ordination with the other Ministries but not directly under any of them. If for any reason, this is not found acceptable an autonomous Board should be appointed either under the Ministry of Home Affairs or the Ministry of Education to carry out the needed reforms, so that the entire change-over from English to Hindi should be effected by 1965 or within a year or two years after 1965.

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पुरुषोत्तमदास टण्डन

गोविन्द दास

New Delhi, 3rd December, 1958.

MINUTE OF DISSENT

By

SHRI FRANK ANTHONY

It is with deep regret that I have felt compelled to submit this minute of dissent against the whole report. I have subscribed my signature to the report merely in token of my having participated in the Committee's proceedings. My regret is heightened by the fact that I have felt obliged to express my fundamental differences against the report of the Committee presided over by Pandit Pant. I venture to state that but for the fact that a person with Pantji's inimitable courtesy, tact and patience was in the Chair, no report of a coherent character would have emerged.

IN CAMERA PROCEEDINGS

I am bound to record the fact that I was strongly opposed to the proceedings of the Committee being held 'in camera'. *Few people in the Country or for the matter of that in the Legislatures are aware of the unusual provisions of the Constitution bearing on the question of the official language.* The Parliamentary Committee was constituted in terms of Article 344(4) of the Constitution. The Constitution has invested this Committee with unique powers. The Committee was elected by both Houses of Parliament and consisted of 20 members from the House of the People and 10 from the Council of States. Although elected by Parliament, it was not a normal Parliamentary Committee. A Parliamentary Committee is obliged to report back to Parliament and the report is subject to modification and even complete change by Parliament. The Parliamentary Language Committee, however, was under no obligation to send its report to Parliament. It is an accident that the report is even to be placed before Parliament. It was only after I had raised the matter in Parliament that Pandit Pant undertook, purely as a gesture, to place the report before Parliament after securing the consent of the President. *The stark position is that Parliament, even though it will in due course discuss the report of the Committee, is not empowered to modify a single recommendation or, in fact, to amend a single word in this report.*

According to the Constitution the report will be sent directly to the President. The President has complete, unfettered discretion to issue directions in accordance with the report. *In fact, therefore, this small Committee is the sole arbiter of what should or should not be done in respect of this vital question of the official language.*

It is because of this combination of unique circumstances that I had underlined not only the need but the duty for holding the proceedings in open forum, so that the Country would be in our confidence during the critical process of our deliberations and decisions. Since the Committee, however, chose by a majority decision to work behind closed doors, inevitably it moved in an atmosphere which, in my opinion, was unreal. The Country was not aware of the many

different points of view expressed in the Committee. The members did not have the opportunity of assessing the reactions of the different parts of the Country. *In effect, this in camera procedure has meant that about 20 persons, sitting behind closed doors, have purported to decide this vital, highly controversial question for the whole Country.*

GENERAL RIGID APPROACH

In my opinion the general approach of the Committee was unjustifiably rigid. Although the Committee was to examine the recommendations of the Language Commission, in my view the Committee was at liberty to consider matters related to the official language question and which had not been considered by the Language Commission. *Thus, I feel the Committee was bound to consider the need for making a recommendation that English should be included in the VIIIth Schedule of the Constitution so that Hindi could, in terms of Article 351, also draw upon* English and thus serve more completely as the medium of expression represent the composite culture of India.* Instead, the Committee brushed aside my proposal as being outside the scope and powers of the Committee's deliberations.

In the same way, the Committee brushed aside my suggestion that we should consider Gandhiji's desire that Hindustani, as a neutral language, should be the official language of the Country.

I also felt that the Committee adopted a gratuitously hide-bound attitude towards the recommendations of the Commission. The Committee worked on the assumption that it could only consider these recommendations and nothing more. In this way the Committee's work was gratuitously cramped and coloured by the recommendations of the Language Commission, the composition and impartiality of which has been seriously questioned particularly in the non-Hindi speaking areas.

A vital defect in the approach of the Committee was that it declined to take any further evidence in spite of the vastly changed atmosphere in the Country and the increasingly widespread opposition to the imposition of Hindi. *Thus, the Committee ignored the unanimous decision of the Legislature of West Bengal that they could not accept Hindi as the official language and that the status quo should continue.*

MAJOR RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE COMMITTEE, IN EFFECT, SETS 1965 DEADLINE FOR CHANGEOVER TO HINDI

The Committee has, in effect, set 1965 as the deadline for the changeover to Hindi. *The dominant recommendation of the Committee is contained in the following words:*

"The date for the final changeover from English to Hindi will mark the point of culmination in this process, rather than

*Article 351 already permits Hindi to draw upon languages other than those mentioned in the Eighth Schedule for its vocabulary. It has been made clear in para. 27 at pages 14 and 15 of the Report that the adoption or adaptation of English or international terms is in accord with the general principles laid down in Article 351.

a new stage. It cannot, therefore, be regarded as a deadline and the approach to this question has to be flexible and practical. The Committee considers that until 1965 English should be the principal official language of the Union and Hindi the subsidiary official language; and from 1965 when Hindi becomes the principal official language, English will* be used as a subsidiary official language for purposes to be specified by Parliament by law in due course for as long as may be necessary."

The words "from 1965 when Hindi becomes the principal official language" have not only an unmistakably dogmatic but constitutionally sinister significance. These words in the recommendation make it clear that the Committee assume that, from 1965, Hindi shall be the principal official language. While the phraseology in the opening sentences of the recommendation suggests that the approach to the deadline must be flexible and practical, this salutary initial approach is completely superseded by the words "from 1965 when Hindi becomes the principal official language". The clear meaning is that, according to the recommendation, from 1965 Hindi shall in fact be the principal official language. *In plain words it means that the Committee has accepted the deadline of 1965 for the changeover from English to Hindi as the principal official language.* This recommendation of the Committee has a revolutionary significance not only for the Country generally, but for the non-Hindi speaking areas in particular. According to this recommendation the President will, in his discretion, take whatever steps he thinks necessary to ensure the changeover from English to Hindi from 1965.

In the first place this recommendation is a breach of the assurance given by the ruling party, at its recent Gauhati session, that 1965 will not be treated by Government as the deadline for the changeover from English to Hindi.

What I am more concerned with however is that this recommendation seeks to stultify Article 343 of the Constitution. Article 343(3) makes it very clear that, "*Parliament may, by law, provide for the use, after the said period of 15 years, of the English language for such purposes as may be specified in the law*". According to this provision of the Constitution it is abundantly clear that Parliament may well decide that the status quo shall continue after 1965, i.e., that English shall continue as the principal language. Yet, the Committee has arrogated to itself the power to sidetrack and supersede the authority of Parliament.† According to the Committee's recommendations, whatever Parliament may think, the status quo cannot

*The word used in the Committee's Report is "should" (vide paragraph 23 at page 13).

†The clause—"from 1965 when Hindi becomes the principal Official Language"—is a statement of the Constitutional position as it obtains under Article 343. The recommendation of the Committee is that even after 1965, English should be used for purposes to be specified by Parliament by law and for as long as may be necessary. While Article 343(3) only gives discretion to Parliament to continue English beyond 1965 for purposes to be specified by law, the Committee has made a positive recommendation to this effect.

continue after 1965. The power and discretion of Parliament to continuing English as the principal Official language after 1965 is sought to be taken away. *In my view this recommendation of the Committee is a palpably illegal assumption of power. Apart from being a breach of the assurance given recently by the Congress Party, the recommendation is, ex facie, an attempt to usurp and supersede the constitutional powers possessed only by Parliament.*

IMPORTATION OF MULTI-NATIONAL CONCEPT

Through its report the Committee has imported a new, deadly, multi-national concept. Thus in one part of the report the Committee says, "The constitutional settlement outlined in the foregoing paragraphs is an integrated and comprehensive scheme. It was evolved after careful consideration by the Constituent Assembly and was adopted without a division as representing the greatest common measure of agreement among the different linguistic groups in the country. It provides for the use of Hindi as well as of other *national* languages for official purposes".

In another part of the report the Committee observes, "The question of conflict between Hindi and other *national* languages does not arise".

I feel that the language used by the Committee is in defiance of the clear legal implications of the Constitution. *Worse than that, it admits the multi-national concept into official thinking.* The Constitution has deliberately scouted the idea of any national language. The framers of the Constitution recognised the fact that in a multi-lingual context, where many of the languages are much older and richer than Hindi, to bespeak a national language would suggest the intention to impose that language throughout the country in all the implications of the term '*national*'. The integrated scheme of the language provisions of the Constitution shows clearly that all that was contemplated was an OFFICIAL language for the purposes of the Union and an OFFICIAL language for the purposes of the different States. *The use of the word NATIONAL by the Committee represents an unhappy and ominous trend. Since 1950 there has been increasing pressure from the Hindi chauvinists to label Hindi as the "RASHTRIYA BHASHA" or "the NATIONAL LANGUAGE".* They were not content with the word "OFFICIAL". This campaign to make Hindi the national language for the country inevitably produced resistance by the non-Hindi speaking areas. This resistance is now sought to be mollified by referring to the languages in the VIIIth Schedule as "NATIONAL" languages.

With due respect to the languages in the VIIIth Schedule, none of them can, technically or legally, be referred to as NATIONAL. The term "NATIONAL" has a certain minimum significance. A language which is restricted to a particular region in the country and has no real over-all currency, cannot etymologically be referred to as 'NATIONAL'. Apart from this, there are the gravest of dangers in the importation of this word in this linguistic context. *Obviously it is used as a sop to the non-Hindi speaking areas which resented*

Hindi being referred to as the national* language. It satisfies the growing appetite of the Hindi chauvinists because they will now insist that the word "NATIONAL" gives them the right to impose Hindi on the whole country in all the implications of the word.

Another serious objection is that the application of this word only to certain of the Indian languages is a gratuitous affront to the millions of Indians who have languages other than those mentioned in the VIIIth Schedule*. The Sindhis, the Adibasis, the Indian Gurkhas, the Nagas and millions of others have and are proud of their own languages. These millions are now being told that their languages are not national. To use the phraseology current in Hindi imperialist circles, they are de-nationalised Indians, speaking de-nationalised languages. They are now being given notice by the Committee that their languages are to be consigned to some kind of a sub-national language ghetto.

It is also completely illegal to attach the word "national" merely to the languages enumerated in the VIIIth Schedule. It is a description and a status which was never contemplated by the Constitution. Article 351 of the Constitution has merely postulated that Hindi may draw upon the forms and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the VIIIth Schedule. The inclusion of these languages in the VIIIth Schedule merely means that Hindi will draw on these languages for its contact. *It was never intended that these languages should be elevated as 'national' in contradistinction to the languages of millions of other Indians, which by implication are now degraded to some sub-national level.*

The worst feature, however, in respect of the illegal importation of this word 'national' is that in order to satisfy, basically, the demand of the Hindi protagonists that Hindi, at any rate, should be referred to as the 'national language', the Committee has now conceded not a two-nation but a multi-nation theory. If according to the Committee's recommendations there are about 14 national languages, then, *a fortiori*, there must be as many nations. The linguistic redistribution of the States was, in my opinion, the first major hostage to the multi-nation theory. The recognition of about 14 national languages is yet another official hostage to this theory. And, in my respectful view, the imposition of Hindi will be the final disastrous hostage to the disintegration of the country into a multiplicity of so-called national enclaves.

CRIPPLING CONDITION OF HINDI QUALIFICATION AS PRE-CONDITION TO RECRUITMENT

The Committee has accepted the recommendation of the Language Commission that with regard to recruitment to subordinate posts in the local offices of the Central Government Departments, such as the Posts & Telegraphs, Railways, Income-tax etc., they "should evolve a measure of permanent bilingualism; that is to say, they will use Hindi for internal work and the respective regional languages in their public dealings in the respective regions". The Committee has also

*In the Committee's report the expression "National Languages" has not been used exclusively for the languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule.

accepted the Commission's recommendation that *"the Union Government would be justified in prescribing a reasonable measure of knowledge of the Hindi language as a qualification for entry into their own services by new entrants provided sufficiently long notice is given and the measure of linguistic ability prescribed is moderate, any deficit being made good by subsequent in-service training"*. While a seeming safeguard is sought to be given in the words *"provided sufficiently long notice is given"*, the dominant recommendation of the Committee that from 1965 Hindi shall be the *principal* official language makes it inevitable that the pre-condition in respect of Hindi test for recruitment even to the subordinate services will be enforced long before 1965. The inescapable result will be that even in the non-Hindi speaking areas recruitment to the local offices of the Central Government Departments such as the Railways, the Posts & Telegraphs etc. will be largely weighted in favour of those with Hindi as their mother tongue and who happen to be living in the non-Hindi speaking areas. It is well known that certain States have refused to make Hindi compulsory even as a third language in schools. Consequently, those who are likely to compete for the subordinate services of the Central Departments will, within the next five or even ten years, know little if any Hindi. *By prescribing this particular condition, which is almost certain to be imposed within the next year or two and most certainly before 1965, non-Hindi candidates will be steadily squeezed out even from recruitment to the subordinate cadres of the Central Government Departments.**

BILINGUAL AND MULTI-LINGUAL FORMULAE FOR TRAINING ESTABLISHMENTS

May I say, with respect, that one of the very few salutary recommendations of the Committee is to the effect that it is unable to agree with the Language Commission's view that the adoption of a quota system for admission to training establishments such as the National Defence Academy and other similar establishments is less open to objection than the adoption of such a system for recruitment to the All-India Services. In the constant search for some kind of a formula to reduce the natural resistance of the non-Hindi speaking areas to Hindi imposition, all manner of sops and compromise solutions, calculated to disrupt the Country, have been toyed with and are being suggested. *If ever the quota system, recommended by the Language Commission, but rightly rejected by the Committee, is introduced in the All-India and the Defence Services, all pretence at national unity and of a single nationality may as well be abandoned.* The introduction of a quota system into the All-India and Defence Services will be yet another disastrous admission of the multi-nation concept.

The recommendation of the Committee that the Entrance examination to the Defence Services' training establishments may be in the different regional languages and that Hindi may be introduced along with English as a medium for all or some of the purposes of instruction is typical of the confusion that this increasing pressure of Hindi imposition has precipitated. *The introduction of a bilingual formula*

*These recommendations have to be read along with recommendation Nos. 13, 14 and 15, and paragraphs 22 and 23 of the Report.
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in training candidates for the Defence Services is bound ultimately to create deep and even bitter linguistic rivalries in these key services. The Committee's recommendation means that sooner or later, perhaps sooner (because of the dominant recommendation that Hindi shall, from 1965, be the principal official language) Hindi and English will be the parallel media of instruction in the Defence Services' training establishments. The inevitable practical consequences should have been obvious. If the results are only farcical, the country might be amused. But, inevitably, the results will be disastrous. In the same training establishments of the Defence Services there will be two streams of recruits, one being instructed through English, the other through Hindi. The Defence Services will be divided into Hindiwallas and Englishwallas. This will be the precursor to dividing the Armed Forces not only linguistically but psychologically into hostile groups. That would be disastrous enough. But I envisage much greater disaster. Once we accept the feasibility of two media of instruction in the Defence establishments, inevitably, because of the intensity of feeling in many of the non-Hindi speaking States, such as Bengal which has rejected Hindi, there will be an irresistible demand for a multiplicity of media of instruction in these establishments. However undesirable or impracticable it may be, the Government will ultimately be compelled to admit 14 or even more media for the purpose of instruction in the Defence establishments. In this context to believe that the Defence Services will be left with any semblance of unity will be to indulge in the wildest self-deception.*

BILINGUAL AND MULTI-LINGUAL FORMULAE FOR RECRUITMENT TO ALL INDIA AND HIGHER CENTRAL SERVICES

The Committee has recommended as follows, "After careful consideration of all aspects of the question the Committee has reached the conclusion that English should continue to be the medium of examination, and Hindi may be admitted as an alternative medium; after some time, both Hindi and English being available as alternative media at the option of the candidate for as long as necessary. The Committee has no objection in principle to the admission of regional languages as the media for these examinations, if this is found to be feasible without the introduction of a quota system". *From every point of view this recommendation, also, is an invitation to disintegration.* The All-India services have been one of the main instruments for achieving not only administrative integrity, but, also, a continuing sense of nationality. This has only been possible because the All-India Services have been recruited and trained through a single medium. It is a contradiction in terms to talk of an All-India service which is trained through different media. The Committee envisages Hindi and English being alternative media. What I have said above, with regard to alternative media for the training establishments, applies with even greater force here. The All-India Services will be divided into Hindiwallas and Englishwallas. Jealousy, envy, and ultimate hatred, based on language, will be the inevitable result.

*The Committee's opinion is that "for sometime it will be necessary to continue English; but suitable steps may be taken to introduce Hindi as a medium for all or some of the purposes of instruction". Whatever the medium of instruction for any subject, it will be common for all.

The Committee have erred grievously in accepting, in principle, the admission of regional languages as media of instruction if this is found feasible. Feasibility will not enter into this question. Just as the Hindi campaigners have compelled the acceptance of Hindi as an alternative medium, the protagonists of the main regional languages will insist that all these languages are made media for the All-India Services. The so-called All-India Services will then be recruited and trained on the basis of a multiplicity of media. The term 'All-India', if it is retained, will then be but a mocking reminder of a single-nation concept which we inherited but did not have the capacity or the vision to preserve.

It will be recalled that the States Reorganisation Commission recommended, as a counterpoise to the growing disruption precipitated by linguistic redistribution, to have more All-India Services with an interchange of personnel between the States. Once the so-called All-India Services are recruited and trained on the basis of different media, there will be no question of any interchange. Every recruit will have to be sent back to his home State.

Another inevitable development will be competition in mark-giving. We are aware of how in some Universities there was competition in mark-giving between students who took Sanskrit on the one hand and Persian on the other. As soon as the Hindi medium is introduced, because of their political influence the Hindi candidates will begin to achieve the most phenomenal mark results. Any attempt at standardization of marking will be a patent farce. Nepotism along language lines will be the order of the day. Even as between Hindi and English there can be no successful attempt at standardization. Honest educationists admit that those who are coming out of the Universities today, after taking their degrees in Hindi, are usually pitiful ignoramuses. There is not available to them the corpus of books and knowledge to enable them to achieve, even remotely, the standards of their counterparts studying through the medium of English. In the first place, when the floodgates are thrown open to the Hindi medium, the result will be that those who qualify through English will, more or less, achieve the present standards required of entrants to the Higher Services. On the other hand, the Hindi recruits will, educationally and intellectually, perhaps be not even as well qualified as a Matriculate who has taken his examination through the medium of English. Immediately, half-educated Hindi recruits will represent a death blow to the high standards and efficiency which have so far been maintained in the Higher Services. If and when the All-India Services are recruited on the basis of a multiplicity of media, the All-India character of the Services will disappear and so also the standards.

An even greater objection to the bilingual formula is that, inevitably, the Hindi candidate will be placed in a position of unqualified advantage. Such a candidate will be competing through his mother-tongue while others will be competing through what is to them a foreign language. This incalculable advantage together with the political dominance of the Hindi States at the Centre will ensure that, inevitably, the All-India Services will become the preserve of

the Hindi areas. *All semblance of equality of opportunity will disappear.* The present bitter unemployment among the graduate and post-graduate students in the non-Hindi States will be intensified.

It is also to be remembered that with the spreading tentacles of nationalisation, practically all the opportunities of service and employment will be under the virtual control of the Central Government. *With the rapid imposition of the Hindi medium the Central Services will become the exclusive happy hunting ground of the new privileged class.*

HINDI TO BE LANGUAGE OF THE SUPREME COURT AND THE HIGH COURTS

The recommendation of the Committee that there should be a common language for the Supreme Court and the High Courts is the only recommendation that can possibly preserve the cohesion and integrity of our legal system and the judiciary. The Committee has set out the reasons for its recommendation. These reasons are unexceptionable. Advocates of one High Court appear in another High Court as also in the Supreme Court, and some sort of an All-India Bar has grown up. The Committee has rightly pointed out that it will be difficult for this practice to continue with the High Courts in the different areas functioning in different languages. The Committee has also pointed out that there will be difficulty in recruiting Judges for the Supreme Court who are selected from High Court Judges and Senior Advocates, if a number of High Courts function in a language different from the language of the Supreme Court. The Committee envisages the continuance of English both in the High Courts and in the Supreme Court until Hindi is accepted both in the High Courts and in the Supreme Court. *The ultimate recommendation of the Committee is an eloquent illustration of the inconsistency in thinking and in policy inevitably produced by this attempt to impose Hindi as a national language on all parts of the Country.*

Two of the main arguments of the Committee, following the lead of the Language Commission, for the elimination of English are that (1) English is a foreign language, and (2) since several of the States have introduced their regional languages in the Universities and also as the official languages, it is virtually impossible for members of those States to discharge their functions effectively through English. *In postulating the final emergence of Hindi in the High Courts* and the Supreme Court, the Committee has been compelled to forget the very reasons on which they posited the replacement of English.* For the non-Hindi speaking people Hindi is more a foreign language than English. Two hundred years of acclimatization to English has made it a familiar linguistic medium to the educated classes throughout the Country. If the Universities are conducting their courses through the regional languages, then the argument that the members of those States cannot achieve adequate standards in English will apply with even greater force to Hindi. Yet the Committee now expects the non-Hindi speaking people to take to Hindi, a language

*The Commission did recommend that the language of judgments, decrees and orders of High Courts must be Hindi in all regions, but the Committee's recommendation is that the States should have full option to use their own official languages in High Courts for all purposes including judgments, orders and decrees.

more foreign to their educational system than English, and to qualify as lawyers and Judges through this foreign language. The non-Hindi speaking people are also being told that although our system of jurisprudence draws its sustenance and inspiration from Anglo-Saxon sources, although the present legal profession, educated through the medium of English, has access to the juridical knowledge of the world, they must now give all this up to qualify in a new foreign language with no background of legal lore, jurisprudence or even an elementary legal vocabulary, deliberately constricting the present world horizon of the Indian lawyer and Judge to the horizon of the judgments of the former High Court of Madhya Bharat. In the name of so-called unity and self-respect we are asking the country to commit this act of vandalism against our judiciary, bar and legal system, which at present compare with the finest in the world. If ever this tragedy supervenes, we may confidently anticipate the dubious standards, both from the bench and the bar, which obtained in most of the former princely States.

PROPAGATION AND DEVELOPMENT OF HINDI BY THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The Committee has recommended that having regard to the constitutional directive in Article 351, the responsibility of facilitating the changeover to Hindi should now be taken over directly by the Government. The Central Government will provide voluntary bodies with financial or other aid. Where efficient agencies are not available, the Central Government will take upon itself the necessity of setting up the necessary organisation.

As a sop to the other major Indian languages, the Committee has, in a parting sentence, said that similar encouragement should also be given to the study of the literature of different languages. *This alleged solicitude for the other Indian languages must inevitably remain a still-born pious platitude. The Committee's recommendation means that the Central Government will now be authorised to spend hundreds of crores of rupees, in the next few years, in the task of giving content to the Hindi language which has not yet crystallised its vocabulary or even its script, in preparing dictionaries and lexicons, in preparing technical and legal glossaries and in the Herculean task of carrying on the Administration of a sub-continent in a language which has not borne this responsibility even in a single State.* The money desperately needed to feed, clothe and educate our hunger-smitten, illiterate millions is now to be wasted on what has become a growing fetish with a certain section of politicians. The overwhelming majority of our people will be justified in asking as to why the money of 90 per cent of the tax payers, represented by the non-Hindi speaking people, should be diverted to the development of a language which belongs to a minority section and is confined to a fractional part of the Country. *In effect the Committee has sanctioned not only a mammoth national exercise in the most flagrant form of discrimination between the different languages of India, but also a monstrous perversion of priorities.* If the Hindi speaking States are so desperately anxious to impose Hindi on the rest of the Country, let them first justify Hindi in their own States and then undertake the financial burden of propagating and making it acceptable to the rest of India.

BITTER EXPERIENCE OF PAST EIGHT YEARS CALLS FOR REVIEW OF LANGUAGE POSITION

Early in the proceedings of the Committee I sought to explain my position. I mentioned that I had no personal axe to grind against Hindi. I come from a Hindi-speaking State, Madhya Pradesh. I have studied Hindi as a second language throughout my school career. I can read and write Hindi in the Devanagari script with a reasonable amount of facility. I can speak it with even greater facility. I have earned my living at the Bar largely through the medium of Hindi. As Chairman of the Inter-State Board for Anglo-Indian Education, for close on 20 years, I have been largely responsible for making Hindi compulsory in Anglo-Indian Schools throughout the Country. The Hindi text-books in Anglo-Indian schools are, I believe, among the very best in the Country.

But my experience during the past 8 years and the increasing intolerance and aggression of the Hindi protagonists have convinced me that the new Hindi is a negation of secular democracy that it spells the inevitable disintegration of the Country and the ultimate destruction of minority languages. A number of members of the Constituent Assembly, like myself, had accepted Hindi in the Constitution with a great deal of trepidation. In the first place it meant resiling from the clear position taken up by Gandhiji. With his unerring instinct, Gandhiji realised that for any Indian language to become the official language it has to be more or less a neutral language. That is why Gandhiji deliberately eschewed Hindi and proposed Hindustani as the official language. I expressed my fears to certain of the front rank leaders that the mere adoption of the word 'Hindi' would be seized upon by the reactionary elements to make it the language of revivalism and of communalism. The past eight years have more than justified my fears.

Hindi, today, in Northern India is the avowed symbol of religion. The unashamed battle cry of the Hindi Raksha Samiti is "Hindi, Hindu, Hindustan". This cry, I regret to say, typifies the thinking of Hindi protagonists in northern and central India. One has only to talk to some of the well-known Hindi campaigners to see, literally, the lust of language imperialism shining from their eyes with a fanatic glint. To them everyone who does not pay homage to Hindi is not only not a patriot, he is a denationalised Indian. For them Hindi is the synonym for patriotism: it is the symbol of Indianism, whatever that may mean.

The tragedy is that this whole language question has been defiled by politicians and revivalists. The resentment against the Englishman has been sought, by the Hindi protagonists, to be transposed against English. They have succeeded in transposing against Urdu the resentment justifiably felt against Pakistan. It is no longer a question of language and the evolution of a language. Hindi, today, is a symbol not only of religion but of political domination. Already the Hindi chauvinists talk and behave as if the Hindi-speaking people are the chosen race of the Hindi Empire of their dreams. I am only attempting to portray, partially, the increasing intolerance, aggression and arrogance that have become the common attributes of the new Hindi imperialism.

The Hindi protagonists are not motivated so much by love of Hindi as by hatred of other competing languages. The hatred for English comes first. It was my sad and bitter experience to meet and fight it in 1954. The motivation of Hindi imperialism, expressing itself in the intention to destroy English, took shape in the Bombay Government's order against the Anglo-Indian schools. *The Bombay Government sought to forbid Anglo-Indian schools from teaching English to any member of any other community.* The obvious motive was to destroy the nerve-centres of English teaching as represented by these schools. Hindi fanaticism in Bombay worked to the belief, now increasingly current among Hindi chauvinists, that unless English is first destroyed, the non-Hindi speaking people will, when faced with the choice between two foreign languages, Hindi and English, prefer English because of its intrinsic worth as opening the door to the treasure house of the world's literature and knowledge in every field of human thought and activity. Even the Prime Minister, in spite of his known catholicity of views in respect of language, could not assist me when I approached him. He expressed his helplessness to do anything *vis-a-vis* the Bombay Government. *Fortunately, I had an independent judiciary to fall back upon. Through the courts I succeeded in having struck down this Hindi-motivated attack on the Anglo-Indian schools.*

Hindi imperialism is making it increasingly impossible for linguistic minorities to live with self-respect in the Hindi speaking States. The latest expression of this hatred against Urdu is a recent decision of the Delhi Corporation Language Committee that the Hindi official vocabulary must ensure that ultimately no Urdu word is used*. In spite of the directive in Article 351 of the Constitution that Hindi should draw on Urdu and Hindustani, among other languages, so that it will be a catholic language expressing the composite culture of India, even the Central Government has, I regret to say, joined in this campaign of purging Hindi of words of Urdu or Persian origin, although these words have become the commonest language currency.

The New Hindi, as I call it, is rapidly becoming not a language but a language burlesque. The frantic efforts of self-styled purists and self-appointed lexicographers to manufacture new words and phrases have made the new Hindi an object of ridicule even in the Hindi States. Unfortunately, this language burlesque has received the blessings even of the Central Government. *Railway sign boards, the names of Government offices, notices in the Lok Sabha are now identified by a string of poly-syllabic resurrections from a dust-bin of dead words or by a tortured combination of weird expressions fresh from the manufacturers of the new Hindi vocabulary.* This new Hindi has made even those who were formerly regarded as literate in Hindi virtually illiterate.

Speaking for the Adibasis, Mr. Jaipal Singh, M.P., their well-known and highly educated leader has observed that "there is not a single Adibasi language listed in the Constitution although a language like Mundari (parent language of Santhali, Ho, Kharia, etc.) is spoken by

*No such decision has been taken by the Delhi Corporation Language Committee.

many more people than Kashmiri, Assamese, Oriya. *State Governments are going out of their way to kill the Tribal languages. For a century, Santhalis used the Roman alphabet with diacritical marks and there are plenty of books also. After Independence the Government of Bihar insisted on the use of Devanagari which is incapable of producing the sounds!*" It is significant that the Bihar Government is the Government of a Hindi State.

A well known All-India Scheduled Castes' leader has told me that *for the Scheduled Castes Hindi means the perpetuation of caste helotry and degradation.* According to him Hindi is a symbol of casteism. As long as the Scheduled Caste members only speak Hindi, they are subjected to all the indignities and humiliations of caste discrimination. English, according to this Scheduled Caste leader, has been one of the instruments of freeing them from their age-old shackles. The Scheduled Caste members who speak English immediately achieve a sense of equality and freedom which Hindi permanently denies them.

We see, with growing concern, what the so-called protectors of Hindi are trying to do in the Punjab. As if Hindi, which is already the language of several States and is being sought to be imposed as a national language, requires any protection! As I have said before, the Hindus of the Punjab, except for some priests, Pandits and a few others, know only Urdu and Punjabi. Yet under pressure from the new Hindi imperialism the majority of those who have never known Hindi or the Devanagari script, are now being persuaded to repudiate their mother tongue—Punjabi—and to join the anti-Punjabi movement. While the Hindi chauvinists insist that the Tamils, Telugus, Bengalis and others shall learn Hindi, as soon as they find themselves having to learn a regional language, they refuse to accept it. According to the Protectors of Hindi it is a gratuitous incubus on the Hindi-speaking people to learn Punjabi. They forget their arguments and the incubus when they seek to impose Hindi on the non-Hindi speaking people.

At present Hindi is not strong enough to attack the languages that are entrenched in their respective regions. But I believe that ultimately the same spirit of intolerance, of domination that has exhibited itself against the languages of the Anglo-Indians, the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Tribals and other will, if Hindi becomes the national language, express itself in an equally oppressive manner against all the non-Hindi linguistic groups.

It is because of these reactionary trends and the increasingly bitter experience of millions of the non-Hindi speaking groups, that I believe an overwhelming majority of our people today desire that the whole language position be reviewed. Because of this I have attempted to give below a very brief review of the general language position and the imperative reasons which make such a review both necessary and urgent.

ARGUMENTS IN SUPPORT OF HINDI

I shall now deal with the principal arguments that are usually adduced by the protagonists of Hindi in their campaign for its imposition as the Rashtriya Bhasha or the National Language. The Committee has largely reproduced these arguments.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS SACROSANCT

The approach of the Committee was that the Constitution has provided that Hindi shall ultimately be the official language and we must treat that provision as sacrosanct. Yet, I believe, there are hundreds of millions of people in the Country who, eight years after the framing of the Constitution, have become increasingly aware of the significance of the present provisions of the Constitution and who, in the light of experience of various kinds, are opposed to these provisions. The Constitution is undoubtedly the law of the land, but it is axiomatic that it can be changed. The language provisions are contained in Part XVII of the Constitution. If any provisions could be said to be sacrosanct, there were those contained in Part III and known as the Fundamental Rights. Yet, in the light of experience, the Government was pleased in about seven years to amend the fundamental rights about seven times. *There is nothing fundamental about the language provisions and the time has come when, in the light of experience, in the interests of the Country and because of the growing demand of the people, the language provisions must be reviewed.*

It should be recalled that when the Constitution was being framed, the Country was riding a crest of national enthusiasm. Practical difficulties of Administration and more especially with regard to the language question could not then be visualised. Perhaps, it is correct to say that the only persons who will be able to look at this language question with complete objectivity, without sentiment and passion, will be the next generation of Indians. This is another powerful argument against the present precipitate steps towards Hindi imposition.

CANNOT HAVE A FOREIGN LANGUAGE

It would be more in consonance, says the Committee, with national sentiment for an Indian language to replace English as the language of inter-communication between the Union and the States and as the Union's official language. Ordinarily, where a country has its own national language it prefers to use that instead of a foreign language. But conditions in India are neither normal nor ordinary. India has no national language. *In a bewildering mosaic of multi-lingualism the stark fact is that English, because of 200 years of acclimatisation, has become the only neutral language in the Country. It has permeated the educational pattern in every part of the Country equally.* Because of this bewildering multi-lingual background the framers of the Constitution deliberately eschewed the idea of finding a national language. All that we are expected to do is to find a language which will be a vehicle for inter-communication between the States and as the Union's official language. Other non-European countries without our multi-lingual problems have accepted English as their official language because of its acclimatization.

English is undoubtedly foreign in origin, but in fact and legally it is an Indian language. For the Anglo-Indians, English is our cherished mother-tongue. If the recognition of the Anglo-Indian Community as one of India's minorities was not intended to be an exercise in political cant and cynicism, then our mother-tongue, English, must be accepted as an Indian language as much as Hindi or the language

of any other section of the Indian peoples. This position has received the final imprimatur of our courts in the dicta of Chief Justice Chagla in the Bombay Schools' case when he observed, "*In the eye of the Constitution no distinction is made between the English language and the languages spoken by other Indian minorities*". He further observes, "*In the constitutional sense, and that is the only sense we are concerned with, English is as much an Indian language today, as much recognised by the Constitution and as much entitled to protection as any other language spoken by any other section or community in this country*".

English may be said to be foreign to those whose mother-tongue it is not. *But in this sense Hindi is infinitely more foreign than English to the non-Hindi speaking people.* As I have said before, not only the non-Hindi speaking people but also the Hindi speaking people have had 200 years of acclimatization to English: they have had no such acclimatisation to Hindi. Further, the Hindi which is supposed to be spoken in the non-Hindi speaking areas is not Hindi and most certainly not the new Hindi. *It is pidgin Hindustani of the bazaar variety.* It is one thing to be able to produce a smattering of ungrammatical Hindustani. It is quite another thing to expect the non-Hindi speaking people to master Hindi and more especially the New Hindi with all its intricacies of syntax and a manufactured vocabulary. *The New Hindi is not only foreign to the non-Hindi speaking people, it is completely foreign to the former Hindi-speaking people including myself.*

Distinguished linguists argue that Urdu is also a foreign language because it was forged by former conquerors of India. Today, quite rightly, Urdu is accepted as an Indian language. Its richness, beauty and refinement have had a great leavening influence on the thought, language and culture of India. Perhaps, the only technical difference in their respective foreignness, as between Urdu and English, is that Urdu was the language forged by conquerors who had kept India under domination for a longer period than the English. The period of acclimatisation to Urdu has been longer. There are some linguists who maintain that even the main stream of Hindi, which is an agglomeration of dialects, was also forged by Muslim conquerors as a language for their camp-followers.

Distinguished Indian linguists underline the fact that because Hindi lacks historical, literary and cultural background, its vocabulary is, even today, in a state of violent flux and varies from Hindi State to Hindi State. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, a distinguished Indologist who has several well-known books in Hindi to his credit, has reminded us that what is sought to be evolved, today, as Hindi is 'Khariboli' Hindi. He tells us that "*this Khariboli Hindi is just a straggling camp-follower in the march of Indian literary languages*". He points to the fact that Hindi is really an agglomeration not of different dialects but even of different languages such as Rajasthani, Kosali or Awadhi, Bhojpuri and even Maithili. *According to Dr. Chatterji 'Khariboli' Hindi which we are now seeking to evolve as Hindi really had no existence prior to 1850.*

Another distinguished Indian has pointed out that Hindi has no political or administrative traditions whatsoever. Throughout Indian

history it has never been the language of a State because there has never been a Hindi State in Indian History. Today we are seeking, artificially and unnaturally, to create a Hindi Empire.

The position of Sanskrit is often sought to be confused with Hindi. Sanskrit is, par excellence, the language of India's rich, ancient culture and also of her religion. The urge to Sanskritise Hindi is, may I say with respect, similar to the urge of a 'nouveau riche' to discover some kind of a respectable ancestor. Whatever appeals we may make to sentiment it will be a delirious illusion to expect that the non-Hindi speaking peoples, such as the Tamils, Telugus, Bengalis, Assamese, Oriyas, Kanadas and others with their ancient and rich literary traditions of over a 1,000 years and with their formed languages, can possibly enthuse over the New Hindi, a comparatively new language, still in the making, and which has yet to achieve some kind of language stature.

MAJORITY OF PEOPLE HINDI-KNOWING?

One of the main premises of the Language Committee, following the Language Commission, is that Hindi has been rightly accepted as the official language as it is not only the mother tongue of a substantial part of the population, but is commonly understood over large parts of the country where the regional language is different. *I am bound to point out, with respect, that this principal premise of the Language Commission and the Committee is not only completely baseless, but absurd. It is one of the glaring fallacies perpetrated by the Language Commission in the urge to bolster up the case for Hindi. Even a superficial examination shows that the 42 per cent. of the alleged Hindi-knowing people, as given by the Commission, in fact includes an overwhelming majority of persons who know only Urdu, Hindustani, Punjabi and hundreds of dialects which are certainly not Hindi. The Muslims and the overwhelming majority of the Hindus of the U.P. only know Urdu. In the Punjab the Sikhs and the overwhelming majority of Hindus know only Urdu and Punjabi. In Madhya Pradesh the overwhelming majority of Hindus know only Hindustani—not the pure Urdu of the U.P. but an amalgam which has a dominant element of Urdu and Persian words.*

A perusal of the 1951 Language Census shows the egregious extent to which the Hindi figures have been inflated by including major languages such as Urdu, Punjabi, Hindustani and hundreds of dialects which cannot possibly be included within the term 'Hindi'. *If the figures are analysed objectively and Hindi is construed even in a broad way, as including those who study even Hindustani in the Devanagari script, it will be found that not even 10 per cent. of the population of India can be claimed as Hindi knowing even in this broad sense. If the estimate is made against the test of the New Hindi, which is unintelligible even to the literate Hindi-speaking people of Madhya Pradesh such as myself, it will probably be found that not even ½ per cent. of the population know the New Hindi as represented by the Hindi translation of the Constitution and the language of All-India Radio. Any honest Hindi-speaking Hindu will admit that when he wishes to understand the news, he tunes in not to All-India Radio but to Radio Pakistan.*

It is also not known how the Commission came to their so-called estimate that only 2 per cent. of the people of India are English knowing. In the first place, the 1951 language census seems to have been prepared almost with the deliberate intention of inflating the Hindi claims and of deflating the English figures. The enumerators of the 1951 Census were categorically directed not to indicate English where it is used as a second language because it is a foreign language! The figures under the English head relate only to those whose mother tongue is English. My estimate is that the number of persons educated in English is at least a hundred times the number of those educated in Hindi. If the number of persons knowing pidgin English be included, my estimate is that this number is at least as great as, if not greater than, the number of those who know pidgin Hindustani in the Country.

One of the greatest political canards perpetrated in Republican India is that 42 per cent. of the people are Hindi-knowing!

HINDI INSTRUMENT OF MASS CONTACT?

The argument used by the Language Commission and reproduced by the Committee is that in a country which is committed to the objectives of a Welfare State and a socialist pattern of society, the official work has to be transacted in a linguistic medium most widely understood by the people. Several fallacies are clear in this approach. So far as mass contact is concerned, it is completely fallacious to suggest that Hindi can represent the medium of mass contact between the Government and the people of the Country. *Mass contact between the Administration and the people can only be achieved through the different regional languages. The Administrations of the Union Government through Hindi can never have any real contact with the people in the non-Hindi speaking States.* I have already said that the new Hindi, which is now being officially used, is unintelligible even to the so-called Hindi speaking people in the Hindi States. It is completely false to suggest that the smattering of pidgin Hindustani, which may be current in the bazaars throughout the Country, makes the language used by the Central Government intelligible to the non-Hindi speaking people.

An important fact to be remembered is that, apart from Hindi being the most backward of the major Indian languages, the Hindi-speaking people themselves are the most backward of all the major linguistic groups. The incidence of illiteracy in the Hindi-speaking States is the highest.

An argument of some Hindi campaigners is that only a small section of English educated Indians, desirous of perpetuating their vested interest, support English. This privileged class, they assert, wishes to continue their privileged position. This argument is palpably fallacious. Whatever the medium of instruction, whether English or Hindi, the educated class is always a privileged class. As I have already pointed out, the number of persons educated in English is at least a 100 times the number of persons educated even in the former Hindi. If the large section of persons educated in English—and who are spread evenly throughout the Country—are supposed to represent a privileged class, how much more so does the $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of Pandits,

priests and a few others, concentrated in a corner of India, who alone have any knowledge of the new Hindi? It is this $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. that is now seeking to create for itself a privileged position as against the 99 $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the rest of India.

On this question of mass contact it must also be remembered that the Hindi States are concentrated in a comparatively small area of India. This was eloquently illustrated by a map exhibited by Rajaji at the Language Conference held in Calcutta. On this map the Hindi States were painted in black and the rest of India in red. The impact of this illustration on the audience was profound. It showed, in what no words can describe, how Hindi imposition means not only the imposition of the language of a small minority in the Country, but also of a language which is confined to a fractional part of the territory of India.

Today, the New Hindi, in its inflated figures and pretentious claims, seeks to usurp the position of Sanskrit, which it has never occupied, of Urdu, which it seeks to destroy, of Hindustani, which, despite Gandhiji, it has scornfully rejected. So far from being an instrument of mass contact, the new Hindi will be the instrument of isolation from the masses.

SOME OF THE REASONS AGAINST THE IMPOSITION OF HINDI

It is my respectful view that every major consideration of the national interests is against the imposition of Hindi. I also believe that rapidly, throughout the Country, Hindi is becoming a symbol of the following reactionary attributes.

(1) *Hindi symbol of religion.*—I have already referred, above, to the fact that Hindi has been avowedly identified in northern India with religion in the battle cry of the Hindi Raksha Samiti which draws its sustenance and inspiration from the Hindi-speaking States.

(2) *Hindi symbol of oppression of linguistic minorities.*—I have already explained above how the New Hindi has become the symbol of oppression of the minorities, such as the Muslims, the Sikhs, the Tribals, the Anglo-Indians and others. This characteristic will, in my opinion, ultimately project itself throughout India if and when Hindi becomes the national language.

(3) *Hindi symbol of discrimination.*—Inevitably the imposition of Hindi will lead to the creation of a privileged class. *Equally inevitably it will lead to the relegation of the non-Hindi speaking people to the permanent status of inferior citizens.* Hindi imposition means that the Hindi student will enjoy the luxury of studying only through his mother tongue and yet have all the prizes within his easy reach. The non-Hindi speaking students will have the crushing incubus of 3 languages*. Those who wish to enter the Services and become lawyers and Judges, will be compelled to learn Hindi as one

*The Committee has recommended that all candidates for the all-India and the Higher Central Services should, after due notice, be required to offer, besides English, two compulsory language papers of equal standard, one in Hindi, and another in a modern Indian language other than Hindi to be selected by the candidate. The three-language formula evolved by the State Education Ministers' Conference for Secondary Schools applies equally to all areas.

foreign language. For its own sake and because of its intrinsic worth, the ambitious students will learn English as another foreign language.

(4) *Hindi symbol of disintegration.*—Hindi imposition spells, in my respectful view, the final hostage to India's disintegration. Mine was a lone voice in Parliament when I opposed the creation of Andhra. I warned the Government that it was initiating a process of linguistic disintegration which may lead to Balkanization. Today, the Government condemns the movements for separate States in Maharashtra, Gujerat, and the Punjab. Yet these demands are the inevitable, logical consequences of the Government's policy in conceding Andhra.

Today the Government, under increasing pressure from the politically dominant Hindi-speaking States, are rushing ahead with the madness of Hindi imposition.

The history of India has been the history of tribalisms. The reorganisation of the States on a linguistic basis was the first tragic major hostage to tribalism. The imposition of Hindi will be the final hostage to India's disintegration. *Already there is growing, bitter revulsion against Hindi imposition. In reply to Hindi fanaticism, every step taken by the Hindi States is being matched in some of the non-Hindi speaking States.* If the non-Hindi speaking States persist in this policy, in order to forestall Hindi imposition, the inevitable result will be the splitting up of India into watertight, linguistic, cultural and ultimately so-called national enclaves. As the Hindi-speaking States change the medium in Universities so also will the non-Hindi speaking States change to their respective regional languages. As the Hindi speaking States change to Hindi in their High Courts, so will the non-Hindi speaking States instal, despite the pious hopes of the Committee, the regional languages in their respective High Courts. When the Hindi protagonists succeed in establishing Hindi as one of the media for the All-India Services, bitter irresistible movements will grow up in the non-Hindi speaking areas which will compel the Central Government to accept the regional languages as the media for the All-India Services. The poison of linguistic disintegration, injected by the Government into the body politic through Andhra, will be mild as compared with the poison that the Government will be guilty of introducing if it insists on Hindi imposition.

(5) *Hindi symbol of retrogression.*—Hindi has not yet formed its vocabulary. Even worse, it has not yet determined its script. Thus the Hindi script used in Bombay is different from that used in Uttar Pradesh. The Hindi students going from Bombay to Uttar Pradesh have virtually to re-learn the Hindi alphabet.

Hindi is at least a 1,000 years behind even the major Indian languages such as Bengali and Tamil. The imposition of Hindi means, inevitably, that in every aspect of our national life we will be putting the country back at least a 1,000 years. Insistence on Hindi imposition is obscurantism par excellence. In this Sputnik age we dare not insist on our going back to the use of the bullock-cart.

LET THE STATUS QUO CONTINUE

It is a complete misconception that nationality postulates uniformity in matters such as language, culture and social habits. The

diversified and rich varieties which represent the constituents of Indian nationhood require a realistic recognition and acceptance of this diversity. *The passion for uniformity, extending to precipitate language policies, stems from a perverted notion of what constitutes nationality and nationhood and betrays dangerous ignorance of language and group psychology.*

Hindi must necessarily occupy a dominant place as the regional languages of so many of the larger States. The Hindi speaking States themselves have not yet found it possible to make Hindi the language of the Administration. Let the Hindi protagonists first deserve before they desire. Let them build Hindi into a position of such unchallenged pre-eminence that it will be accepted voluntarily by the non-Hindi speaking peoples as the gateway to the cultural, literary and scientific progress of the Country. Until then let us not persist in pursuing this present madness which can only mean the destruction of the present unity of India.

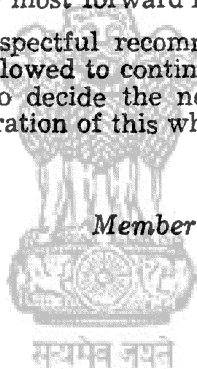
I believe that the overwhelming majority of educationists, men of letters and men of science throughout the Country desire that the *status quo* should continue. It is they who are best qualified to take the most objective and the most forward-looking view.

In the premises my respectful recommendation to the President is that the *status quo* be allowed to continue at least until Parliament has had an opportunity to decide the next step or series of steps, after careful, open consideration of this whole vital language question.

FRANK ANTHONY

Member of the House of the People

Division No. 438.



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NOTE

BY

SHRI THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA

The perusal of this note would establish that this note is not in the nature of a note of dissent but is in rhythm with the general recommendations of the Report of the Parliamentary Committee and their basic approach towards the question at issue. I have had the benefit of reading the note given by revered Tandonji and my esteemed friend Seth Govind Das Ji and I find after reading what is therein called the majority report and their note that their note can hardly be called a note of dissent. There is so much common between the so called majority report and their note that I am inclined to feel that the Report of the Committee is almost unanimous and the claim made in the report about the result of preliminary discussion that

‘Almost all the members participated in the discussion which revealed that despite differences in matters of detail there was general agreement as regards the objectives and the approach to the problem’ is really true about the report also.

There are no differences in principle and in regard to details it is impossible for any two intelligent people not to differ in the emphasis on details if they bring different temperaments and anticipations to bear upon the subject. Under the wise guidance of our worthy Chairman Hon'ble Shri Pantji the entire proceedings of the Committee breathed an atmosphere of cordial cooperation in regard to this question which at one time had a look of desperate approach and antagonism in the country.

I cannot refrain from paying my humble tribute to our worthy Chairman the Hon'ble Shri Pantji and other national leaders Shri Mudaliar, Shri Dange, Shri Atulya Ghosh and other friends representing non-Hindi areas and revered Tandonji and Seth Govind Dasji and other friends representing Hindi areas for the affable manner redolent with mutual respect for each others point of view and patriotic outlook for approaching the question at issue. There was occasionally a difference in regard to emphasis on details as evidenced by the note but the essential and big issue was never disputed or doubted.

The country has good reason to rejoice that the Parliamentary Committee's approach is united and there is no difference of opinion in regard to the basic approach as contained in Chapter II of the report which expresses the unanimous point of view of all the members of the Committee and the report rightly observes

“after considering all aspects of the problem the Committee is of the definite opinion that adherence to the settlement (as given in this Chapter) is the only safe and practicable course to adopt.”

In regard to details some members had differences about the amount of emphasis on certain courses of action but some of the differences were not such as were unbridgeable or even acute. Most of them are in my humble opinion reconcilable.

As in regard to some of them I was in my outlook and approach in the same line as revered Tandonji. I wish to make a brief mention about some of them.

I do not remember if in respect of Item No. 21 there was any mention of charge sheets being given to class IV employees and explanations called in English only. I fully agree that the use of English in regard to communication with Class IV employees who do not know English should be in Hindi or in the regional language recognised by the State of these employees. The use of Hindi in regard to all of them will be as unjustifiable as English or the regional language as they are generally not very literate and it would be advisable under the present circumstances to have recourse to the recognised language of the State of the employee concerned.

The credentials of ambassadors, I believe, have begun to be presented in foreign countries in the national language. But if I am wrong in my information I would most gladly support the suggestion nor do I think any other member of the Committee will be against it.

As regards Item 22 relating to time table I am not happy that the Commission was not in a position to frame a time table owing to the Government not having furnished the Commission with their proposal and views. I am further unhappy that in spite of requests from many members including my humble self the Government did not frame a time table. I must frankly say that had the Education Ministry been active and done its duty from the start i.e. 1951 the present situation in regard to language dispute would not have arisen. But it is no use now bemoaning the past. At one time it was thought that some members of the Committee may make an attempt in this direction but it is obvious that without the Government furnishing bases and dates for framing such a time table no attempt could succeed.

Government alone is competent to give effect to the time table and the policy and all that any person can do is to urge the Government to accelerate the tempo of effort in this direction. I have full confidence that the Hon'ble Home Minister is fully alive to the urgency of the steps to be taken in this connection and he will leave no stone unturned consistently with the principles given in Chapter II of the report to do what he can in the matter. I consider his policy is admirably suited to bring about the best results.

This policy is rightly emphasized in Para. 24 of the Report.

"While the changeover is to be effected by gradual and orderly stages it is important that there should be no relaxation of effort in carrying out preparatory measures for facilitating the changeover. The practical difficulties that are bound to arise can be surmounted if effort is directed along a well thought out programme of work".

This evidently requires a time table which will be a constant reminder for continuous efforts in the direction of progress. I put
201 HA—8.

great emphasis on this aspect during the deliberations of the Committee and I again reiterate my humble request that the Government should make as early as possible a time table of action.

In framing this time table I am anxious that the views of the non-Hindi areas be fully considered and all legitimate objections be given due weight. In fact, my anxiety in this connection has no special significance as I fully realize that any policy or time table sponsored by the Hon'ble Home Minister will give fullest possible consideration to the views of non-Hindi speaking areas.

A proposal has been made in the note of revered Tandonji for the creation of a separate Ministry of Hindi Language. I am sorry I do not find myself agreeable to the proposal as it is likely to give rise to a psychological apprehension in the non-Hindi speaking area that the changeover is going to be unreasonably rushed through.

I am however at one with the proposal of creating a Board under the Home Minister so that the needed work be done with firmness and vigour and the previous policy of apathy and inaction be done away with.

I may in this connection also mention that I do not agree with the date of complete changeover proposed in the note of revered Shri Tandonji being 1965 or within a year or two after 1965.

This date I do not think shall be acceptable to our friends of non-Hindi areas. The Committee also did not fix or agree to any such date, nor for reasons given in the report the date can reasonably be so near for complete changeover. In the words of the report with which I agree 1965 date is not a practicable proposition.

In regard to numerals I am not desirous of any radical change in the Constitution. It stands to the credit of revered Tandonji that though he was the only person who voted against the provision of the Constitution which sought to substitute international numerals for Hindi numerals he has not sought in his note to change the Constitution. The practice which has grown up so far is quite wholesome. In the Union Budget in Hindi, numerals are also given in Hindi. In other Hindi publications also usually Hindi numerals are given. The numerals in international figures in a Hindi Railway Time Table certainly jar against ones sense of propriety, and in practice produce inconvenience also as Hindi numerals in an English time table would do. In my humble opinion the continuance of the present practice and policy are desirable. The nature of a particular publication and other relevant factors so far taken into consideration should decide if Hindi numerals are to be used and the proposition that

“for scientific, technical and statistical publications the international numerals may be regarded as particularly suited for common use”

is expressed rather too widely.

In regard to Items 33 and 34 I do not see any difference in the recommendations of the so-called majority report and the note.

Even now important laws like the Indian Penal Code, Criminal Procedure Code, Evidence Act and other laws are published in Urdu and Hindi and the Government is engaged in authoritative translations of various laws. It is quite proper that since all the laws are to be published in official language bills introduced in Parliament may along with the English version be accompanied by Hindi translation. There is a good number of members of Parliament who are not versed in English language and adoption of such a procedure is also necessary in their interests. In fact the acts of the Union Legislature will have to be translated in all regional languages in which they do not exist at present, as early as possible.

In regard to public services the Committee has accepted the view that English alone shall continue as the medium of instruction in the training establishments for some time and suitable steps be taken to introduce Hindi as medium for all or some of the purposes of instruction. An amendment that 'early' steps be taken to introduce Hindi as medium was not accepted. Nothing would have been lost if the word 'early' was also accepted and suitable steps in this direction were agreed to be taken early. Nobody wanted the discontinuance or immediate substitution of English Language by Hindi. The demand was that along with English, Hindi be introduced for the benefit of boys who were not conversant with English. The demand was not immediate and the Government could at its convenience take early steps to introduce Hindi. I have no misgiving that the Government will not introduce Hindi as early as possible if it is honest in its professions. The interests of Hindi speaking areas are as dear to the Government as the interests of non-Hindi speaking areas. The non-Hindi speaking areas are not losers if this facility is afforded to their brethren of Hindi speaking areas. It is an enabling provision and does not harm them.

Similarly the claim that along with English, Hindi may be adopted as the medium of linguistic examination in competitive higher services as early as possible is quite just and should have been accepted. We are anxious that our non-Hindi speaking candidates should not suffer any disadvantages yet surely the claim that Hindi speaking candidates should not be penalized as hitherto they have been is not unfair. I fail to see what possible objection there can be in allowing Hindi-speaking candidates to adopt Hindi as their medium. Steps can be taken to see that there is no discrimination or favouritism in regard to any of the candidates. Is it not notoriously true that Hindi speaking candidates specially of backward areas like Harijana in Punjab and others of Gujerat generally speaking are not so competent to answer in English as their brethren of non-Hindi speaking areas? Why not put both on the same pedestal as early as possible?

Times are changing and in the impetus that this language controversy has given to regional languages English is bound to lose its dominating position in all parts of India. In terms of Article 16 of the Constitution we should as early as possible 'provide equal opportunities to all citizens in matters relating to employment or appointment to any office under the State'. No citizen of India should be put in a position in which he may feel that some other citizen has got preference or advantage over him so far it is possible. The better

course will be to allow all candidates to make answer in their mother tongue but until this is done let nobody be penalized by unjustifiably insisting on English alone.

The comity of Language in the long run apart from official aspect is a great cementing force and makes for national solidarity. All the regional languages are our national languages and we should make all possible endeavours to see that they progress as much as possible. Hindi whatever anybody may say is and is at least on the way to become the *lingua franca* of India. We want to enrich it with contributions from all the regional languages with words and expressions which are in common use so that all parts of India may regard it and use it as their common language for mutual intercourse. There is no rivalry or domination between Hindi or regional languages and just as the Union Government is equally the Government for all regions so is equally Hindi language the language of all regions. Let us all unite in respecting our sacred Constitution and give effect to it as early as possible. I do not want to conceal my feelings that the non-Hindi speaking areas are really under handicap and difficulty in the matter of language and they are making a sacrifice in the national cause by gladly accepting the Constitution and surmounting the difficulties natural to those whose mother-tongue is not Hindi. I read the well reasoned memorandum of the Madras Government with great appreciation and the statistics of students learning Hindi was very gratifying. How do I wish that they had also agreed with the rest of India to make Hindi compulsory in secondary education though I do not want to conceal that the statistics are eloquent to show that without making Hindi compulsory they are showing results which demonstrate as if it was virtually compulsory.

All honour to those who make voluntary sacrifices in the cause of unity and freedom of the nation which we are securing after thousands of years of foreign rule. May God give us all wisdom and strength to do what is best in the interest of the solidarity and unity of our nation, even at the sacrifice of parochial interests.

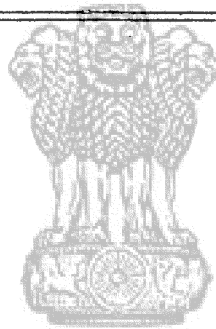
NEW DELHI;

The 5th December 1958.

THAKUR DAS BHARGAVA

Member of the Parliamentary
Committee.

ANNEXURES



सत्यमेव जयते

ANNEXURE I

Copy of the Government of India, Ministry of Home Affairs Notification No. 43/9/55-Public-I, dated New Delhi-2, the 7th June, 1955.

In pursuance of the provisions contained in Article 344 of the Constitution, the President hereby constitutes a Commission (to be called 'the Official Language Commission') consisting of Shri B. G. Kher as Chairman and the following as members:—

1. Dr. Birinchi Kumar Barua, Head of the Assamese Department, Gauhati University, Gauhati,—Assam.
2. Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Chairman, West Bengal Legislative Council, Calcutta,—West Bengal.
3. Shri Maganbhai Desai, Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad,—Bombay.
4. Shri D. C. Pavate, Vice-Chancellor, Karnatak University,—Bombay.
5. Professor P. N. Pushp, Amar Singh College, Srinagar,—Kashmir.
6. Shri M. K. Raja, Editor, 'Dinabandhu', Ernakulam,—Travancore-Cochin.
7. Dr. P. Subbarayan, Member, Rajya Sabha, Madras,—Madras.
8. Shri G. P. Nene, Rashtrabhasha Bhavan, Poona,—Bombay.
9. Dr. P. K. Parija, Pro-Chancellor, Utkal University, Cuttack,—Orissa.
10. Sardar Teja Singh, Ex-Chief Justice, PEPSU, Patiala,—PEPSU.
11. Shri M. Satyanarayana, Member, Rajya Sabha, Madras,—Madras.
12. Dr. Babu Ram Saksena, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, Allahabad,—Uttar Pradesh.
13. Dr. Abid Hussain, Jamia Milia, Delhi,—Delhi.
14. Dr. Amar Nath Jha, Chairman, Public Service Commission, Patna,—Bihar.
15. Dr. R. P. Tripathi, Vice-Chancellor, Saugor University, Saugor,—Madhya Pradesh.
16. Shri Balkrishna Sharma, M.P., Delhi,—Delhi.
17. Shri Mauli Chander Sharma, Delhi,—Delhi.
18. Dr. Hazari Prasad Dwivedi, Head of the Department of Hindi, Banaras Hindu University, Banaras,—Uttar Pradesh.

19. Shri Jai Narain Vyas, Jaipur,—Rajasthan.

20. Shri M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar, Deputy Speaker; Lok Sabha, Delhi,—Madras.

It shall be the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President as to—

- (a) the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union;
- (b) restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union;
- (c) the language to be used for all or any of the purposes mentioned in Article 348 of the Constitution;
- (d) the form of numerals to be used for any one or more specified purposes of the Union;
- (e) the preparation of a time schedule according to which and the manner in which Hindi may gradually replace English as the official language of the Union and as a language for communication between the Union and State Governments and between one State Government and another.

2. In making their recommendations, the Commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India, and the just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services.

3. The Commission may—

- (a) obtain such information as they may consider useful for or relevant to any matter under their consideration whether by asking for written memoranda or by examining witnesses, or in such form and in such manner as they may consider appropriate, from the Central Government, the State Governments, the Supreme Court, the High Courts, the Legislatures and such other authorities, organisations or individuals as may, in the opinion of the Commission, be of assistance to them;
- (b) regulate their own procedure, including the fixing of places and time of their sittings and deciding whether to sit in public or in private;
- (c) appoint such and so many Sub-Committees from amongst their members to exercise such powers and perform such duties as may be delegated to them by the Commission;
- (d) visit or depute any of their Sub-Committees to visit such parts of the territory of India as they consider necessary or expedient;
- (e) act, notwithstanding the temporary absence of any member or the existence of any vacancy among the members.

4. The Commission shall consider the evidence obtained by them and make their recommendations to the President as soon as may be practicable but not later than the 30th day of April, 1956.

By order of the President.

V. VISWANATHAN

Joint Secretary.

ANNEXURE II

Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Committee of Parliament on Official Language.

1. *Short title.*—These rules may be called “the Rules of Procedure and Conduct of Business in the Committee of Parliament on Official Language”.

2. *Definitions.*—In these rules, unless the context otherwise requires,—
“Member” means a member of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language.

“Secretary” means the Secretary to the Committee of Parliament on Official Language and includes any person for the time being performing the duties of the Secretary,

“Committee” means “Committee of Parliament on Official Language”.

“Chairman” means the Chairman of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language and includes any person for the time being acting as Chairman.

3. *Summons to Members.*—The Secretary shall inform each member of the date and place of sittings of the Committee or its Sub-Committee.

4. *Chairman of Committee.*—If the Chairman elected by the Committee is absent from any sitting or if the Chairman leaves when the Committee is sitting, he may nominate any other member to act as Chairman. In any other contingency, a Chairman may be elected for the sitting by the members present.

5. *Quorum.*—(1) The quorum to constitute a sitting of the Committee shall be ten.

(2) If at any time fixed for any sitting of the Committee, or if at any time during any such sitting, there is no quorum, the Chairman of the Committee shall either suspend the sitting until there is a quorum or adjourn the sitting to some future day:

Provided that when the Committee has been thus adjourned on two successive dates, the Committee may proceed with its business at the next sitting fixed by the Chairman even if a quorum is not present.

6. *Voting in Committee.*—All questions at any sitting of the Committee shall be determined by a majority of votes of the members present and voting.

7. *Casting Vote by Chairman.*—In the case of an equality of votes on any matter, the Chairman, or the person acting as such, shall have a second or casting vote.

8. *Appointment of Sub-Committee.*—(1) The Committee may appoint one or more sub-committees to examine any matters that may be referred to them, and the reports of such sub-committees shall be deemed to be the reports of the whole Committee, if they are approved at a sitting of the whole Committee.

(2) The terms of reference of a sub-committee shall clearly state the point or points for consideration. The report of the sub-committee shall be considered by the whole Committee.

(3) If the Committee appoints a sub-committee to examine any matters, the report of the sub-committee duly signed by the Chairman of the sub-committee on behalf of the sub-committee shall be submitted by the prescribed date and copies of the same shall be made available to all members of the Committee before they meet to consider the report of the sub-committee.

9. *Sitting of Committee.*—The sittings of the Committee shall be held on such days and at such hour as the Chairman of the Committee may fix:

Provided that if the Chairman of the Committee is not readily available the Secretary may fix the date and time of a sitting.

10. *Sittings of Committee in private.*—(1) The sittings of the Committee shall be held in private.

(2) The proceedings of the Committee shall be treated as confidential and it shall not be permissible for a member of the Committee or any one who has access to its proceedings to communicate, directly or indirectly, to the press or any other person any information regarding its proceedings including its report or any conclusions arrived at, finally or tentatively.

(3) Whenever a paper or document marked 'Secret' or 'Confidential' is circulated to the members of the Committee, the contents of such paper or document shall not be divulged by any member either in the minute of dissent or on the floor of the House, or otherwise.

11. *Venue of sittings.*—The sittings of the Committee or its sub-committees may be held at any convenient place.

12. *All strangers to withdraw when Committee deliberates.*—All persons other than members of the Committee and officers of the Committee's Secretariat and Reporters shall withdraw whenever the Committee is deliberating.

13. *Treatment of document.*—No document submitted to the Committee shall be withdrawn or altered without the knowledge and approval of the Committee.

14. *Record of decisions.*—A verbatim record of the proceedings of the Committee shall be kept. In addition, the Secretary shall maintain a Minute book under the direction of the Chairman, and the minutes shall be read out in the next meeting and signed by the Chairman.

15. *Report of Committee.*—(1) The report of the Committee shall be signed by the Chairman and the members of the Committee:

Provided that if a member is absent at the time of signing the report his consent or otherwise shall be obtained in writing by the Secretary:

Provided further that if no reply is received from any member who was absent at the time of signing the report within a fortnight of the despatch of the report to him by the Secretary, the report may be submitted to the President without waiting any further for his reply.

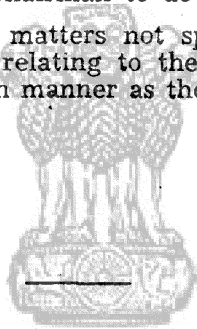
(2) Any member of the Committee may record a minute of dissent on any matter or matters dealt with in the report.

(3) A minute of dissent shall be couched in temperate and decorous language and shall not refer to any observations made by members in the Committee nor cast aspersion on the Committee or its members.

(4) If in the opinion of the Chairman a minute of dissent contains words, phrases or expressions which are unparliamentary or otherwise inappropriate, he may order such words, phrases or expressions to be expunged from the minute of dissent.

16. *Member desiring to reopen a question to obtain Chairman's permission.*—If a member desires to reopen a question on which the Committee has already taken a decision he shall, in the first instance, obtain the permission of the Chairman to do so.

17. *Residuary powers.*—All matters not specifically provided for in these rules and all questions relating to the detailed working of these rules shall be regulated in such manner as the Chairman may, from time to time, direct.

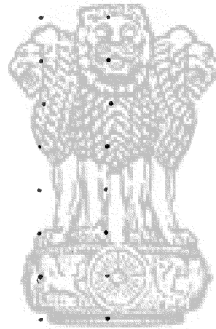


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ANNEXURE III

Statement giving dates of the meetings of the Committee of Parliament on Official Language held and the number of members present at each meeting.

	Date of the meeting	No. of members present
1	16-11-57	24
2	6-1-58	29
3	7-1-58	28
4	8-1-58	28
5	9-1-58	27
6	18-2-58	22
7	10-3-58	15
8	12-5-58	24
9	13-5-58	22
10	14-5-58	22
11	14-7-58	23
12	15-7-58	23
13	16-7-58	22
14	17-7-58	21
15	18-7-58	18
16	18-8-58	17
17	19-8-58	21
18	20-8-58	22
19	21-8-58	21
20	22-8-58	19
21	30-8-58	22
22	2-9-58	21
23	4-9-58	19
24	25-11-58	23
25	27-11-58	22
26	28-11-58	23



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ANNEXURE IV
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF HOME AFFAIRS

PRESS NOTE
STATEMENT ON LANGUAGE

New Delhi, Asadha 23, 1880/July 14, 1958

(This paper is attached as an annexure as desired by certain members so that the decisions contained in it may receive the attention of all concerned and be implemented fully.)

A number of representations have been received from the Anjuman-e-Tarraqi-e-Urdu Hind urging that Urdu should be officially recognised in various territories where it is prevalent among considerable sections of the population. In particular, various proposals have been made for the encouragement of Urdu and the grant of facilities for instruction and examination in the Urdu language. As it appears from these representations, as well as from other sources, that there is considerable misunderstanding on this issue, it is desirable that this misunderstanding should be removed and the position of Urdu as laid down in the Constitution and in various announcements made by the Government and by the Provincial Education Ministers' Conference, be re-stated and clarified.

2. Urdu and Hindi are very closely allied and may be considered as basically the same language. But it is true that Urdu has certain distinctive features, apart from the script in which it is usually written, and differs not only in literary style but to some extent in its vocabulary from Hindi. Urdu has grown up in India as a variation of Hindi, being influenced by various cultural currents that came to India from other countries. But it is essentially a language of our country, and its homeland is India. The Constitution has recognised this basic fact by including Urdu among the national languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. Thus, Urdu is officially and constitutionally recognised as one of our national languages, and the various provisions that apply to these languages, apply to Urdu also.

3. While Urdu is spoken by and is considered as their mother tongue by a very considerable number of persons in India, more especially in North India, it is not a language used by the majority of people in any State in India or in any large region within a State. In the State of Jammu and Kashmir, it is recognised as one of the State languages, the principal one being Kashmiri. In the Telengana area of Andhra Pradesh, it has also been recognised as an additional language for that region, although the principal language of the State is Telugu. In Northern India, more especially in Delhi, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, the use of the Urdu language has been widespread, though it is confined to a minority chiefly living

in towns. In the past, the principal cultural centres of the Urdu language have been Delhi city and Lucknow.

4. As a language of India which has literary distinction and vitality, it should be encouraged, in addition to other reasons, from the literary point of view. In regard to facilities for instruction and examination, the Provincial Education Ministers' Conference has laid down certain rules for its use, with which Government are in full agreement.

5. In areas and regions where the Urdu language is prevalent, the following facilities should be especially provided:—

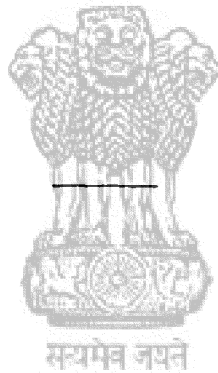
- (1) Facilities should be provided for instruction and examination in the Urdu language at the primary stage to all children whose mother tongue is declared by the parent or guardian to be Urdu.
- (2) Arrangements should be made for the training of teachers and for providing suitable text books in Urdu.
- (3) Facilities for instruction in Urdu should also be provided in the secondary stage of education.
- (4) Documents in Urdu should be accepted by all courts and offices without the necessity of translation or transliteration in any other language or script, and petitions and representations in Urdu should also be accepted.
- (5) Important laws, rules and regulations and notifications should be issued in the Urdu language also in areas where this language is prevalent and which may be specified for this purpose.

It is not necessary that laws should be passed by the Legislatures in Urdu or that every law should be issued in Urdu. But, in order to give publicity to important laws as well as rules and regulations and notifications, these, or a substance of them should be issued in the Urdu language in specified areas. In the same way, where any border area between two States is considered bilingual, it is necessary to give publicity to important Government announcements in both the languages.

6. Hindi has not only been given pride of place in our Constitution, but is also the State language of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar as well as some other States in India. There can be no question of any rivalry between Hindi and Urdu. Hindi necessarily occupies the dominant position in such States. But, in accordance with the provision of the Constitution and the desirability of encouraging an important language of India, spoken and used by considerable numbers of the people, it is desirable to encourage and facilitate the use of Urdu by those who have been in the habit of using it and those who consider it as their mother-tongue. This would apply especially to Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, as well as to Delhi, which has been, for hundreds of years, one of the principal centres of the Urdu language.

7. In the Punjab, the two State languages are Hindi and Punjabi and a regional formula has been accepted in regard to their use. Urdu cannot, therefore, have the same place as Hindi or Punjabi, in the Punjab, but it is a fact that Urdu is widely known and used in the Punjab. It is therefore necessary and desirable to give it the facilities mentioned in para 5 above in the Punjab also.

8. While the policy of Government in regard to various languages, and in particular Urdu, has been repeatedly stated and is clear, there appears to be some justification for the complaint that it has not always been fully implemented. It is necessary, therefore, for full publicity to be given to this policy and for every effort to be made to implement it. Government regret that the question of language has sometimes been considered from a communal point of view or looked upon as one of rivalry between languages. All the principal languages of India are the rich heritage of our country and each of them has drawn abundantly from the others. The growth of any one of them helps others to grow also. The question, therefore, should be considered from the point of view of developing all our national languages and bringing about as large a measure of understanding and cooperation between them as possible.



Articles of the Constitution relating to Official Language
to which reference has been made in the Report.

PART XVII¹.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE

CHAPTER I.—LANGUAGE OF THE UNION

343. (1) The official language of the Union shall be Hindi in Devanagari script.

The form of numerals to be used for the official purposes of the Union shall be the international form of Indian numerals.

(2) Notwithstanding anything in clause (1), for a period of fifteen years from the commencement of this Constitution, the English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union for which it was being used immediately before such commencement:

Provided that the President may, during the said period, by order authorise the use of the Hindi language in addition to the English language and of the Devanagari form of numerals in addition to the international form of Indian numerals for any of the official purposes of the Union.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in this article, Parliament may by law provide for the use, after the said period of fifteen years, of—

- (a) the English language, or
- (b) the Devanagari form of numerals,

for such purposes as may be specified in the law.

344. (1) The President shall, at the expiration of five years from the commencement of this Constitution and thereafter at the expiration of ten years from such commencement, by order constitute a Commission which

¹The provisions of this Part shall apply to the State of Jammu and Kashmir only in so far as they relate to—

- (i) the official language of the Union ;
- (ii) the official language for communication between one State and another, or between a State and the Union ; and
- (iii) the language of the proceedings in the Supreme Court.

shall consist of a Chairman and such other members representing the different languages specified in the Eighth Schedule as the President may appoint, and the order shall define the procedure to be followed by the Commission.

(2) It shall be the duty of the Commission to make recommendations to the President as to—

- (a) the progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union;
- (b) restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union;
- (c) the language to be used for all or any of the purposes mentioned in article 348;
- (d) the form of numerals to be used for any one or more specified purposes of the Union;
- (e) any other matter referred to the Commission by the President as regards the official language of the Union and the language for communication between the Union and a State or between one State and another and their use.

(3) In making their recommendations under clause (2), the Commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India, and the just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi speaking areas in regard to the public services.

(4) There shall be constituted a Committee consisting of thirty members, of whom twenty shall be members of the House of the People and ten shall be members of the Council of States to be elected respectively by the members of the House of the People and the members of the Council of States in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote.

(5) It shall be the duty of the Committee to examine the recommendations of the Commission constituted under clause (1) and to report to the President their opinion thereon.

(6) Notwithstanding anything in article 343, the President may, after consideration of the report referred to in clause (5), issue directions in accordance with the whole or any part of that report.

CHAPTER II.—REGIONAL LANGUAGES

Official language or languages of a State,

345. Subject to the provisions of article 346 and 347, the Legislature of a State may by law adopt any one or more of the languages in use in the State or Hindi as the language or languages to be used for all or any of the official purposes of that State:

Provided that, until the Legislature of the State otherwise provides by law, the English language shall continue to be used for those official purposes within the State for which it was being used immediately before the commencement of this Constitution.

Official language for communication between one State and another or between a State and the Union.

346. The language for the time being authorised for use in the Union for official purposes shall be the official language for communication between one State and another State and between a State and the Union:

Provided that if two or more States agree that the Hindi language should be the official language for communication between such States, that language may be used for such communication.

Special provision relating to language spoken by a section of the population of a State.

347. On a demand being made in that behalf, the President may, if he is satisfied that a substantial proportion of the population of a State desire the use of any language spoken by them to be recognised by that State, direct that such language shall also be officially recognised throughout that State or any part thereof for such purpose as he may specify.

CHAPTER III.—LANGUAGE OF THE SUPREME COURT, HIGH COURTS, ETC.

Language to be used in the Supreme Court and in the High Courts and for Acts, Bills, etc.

348. (1) Notwithstanding anything in the foregoing provisions of this Part, until Parliament by law otherwise provides—

(a) all proceedings in the Supreme Court and in every High Court,

(b) the authoritative texts—

(i) of all Bills to be introduced or amendments thereto to be moved in either House of Parliament or in the House or either House of the Legislature of a State,

(ii) of all Acts passed by Parliament or the Legislature of a State and of all Ordinances promulgated by the President or the Governor¹ * * * of a State, and

¹The words "or Rajpramukh" omitted by the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act, 1956, s. 29 and Sch.

(iii) of all orders, rules, regulations and bye-laws issued under this Constitution or under any law made by Parliament or the Legislature of a State, shall be in the English language.

(2) Notwithstanding anything in sub-clause (a) of clause (1), the Governor¹ * * * of a State may, with the previous consent of the President, authorise the use of the Hindi language, or any other language used for any official purposes of the State, in proceedings in the High Court having its principal seat in that State:

Provided that nothing in this clause shall apply to any judgment, decree or order passed or made by such High Court.

(3) Notwithstanding anything in sub-clause (b) of clause (1), where the Legislature of a State has prescribed any language other than the English language for use in Bills introduced in, or Acts passed by, the Legislature of the State or in Ordinances promulgated by the Governor¹ * * * of the State or in any order, rule, regulation or bye-law referred to in paragraph (iii) of that sub-clause, a translation of the same in the English language published under the authority of the Governor¹ * * * of the State in the Official Gazette of that State shall be deemed to be the authoritative text thereof in the English language under this article.

349. During the period of fifteen years from the commencement of this Constitution, no Bill or amendment making provision for the language to be used for any of the purposes mentioned in clause (1) of article 348 shall be introduced or moved in either House of Parliament without the previous sanction of the President, and the President shall not give his sanction to the introduction of any such Bill or the moving of any such amendment except after he has taken into consideration the recommendations of the Commission constituted under clause (1) of article 344 and the report of the Committee constituted under clause (4) of that article.

Special procedure for enactment of certain laws relating to language.

CHAPTER IV.—SPECIAL DIRECTIVES

350. Every person shall be entitled to submit a representation for the redress of any grievance to any officer or authority of the Union or a State in any of the languages used in the Union or in the State, as the case may be.

Language to be used in representations for redress of grievances.

²[350A. It shall be the endeavour of every State and of every local authority within the State to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother-tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups; and the President may issue such directions to any State as he considers necessary or proper for securing the provision of such facilities.

Facilities for instruction in mother-tongue at primary stage.

¹The words "or Rajpramukh" omitted by the Constitution (Seventh Amendment) Act, 1956, s. 29 and Sch.

²Ins. by s. 21, *ibid*.

350B. (1) There shall be a Special Officer for linguistic minorities to be appointed by the President.

**Directive
for develop-
ment of the
Hindi
language.**

351. It shall be the duty of the Union to promote the spread of the Hindi language, to develop it so that it may serve as a medium of expression for all the elements of the composite culture of India and to secure its enrichment by assimilating without interfering with its genius, the forms, style and expressions used in Hindustani and in the other languages of India specified in the Eighth Schedule, and by drawing, wherever necessary or desirable, for its vocabulary, primarily on Sanskrit and secondarily on other languages.

